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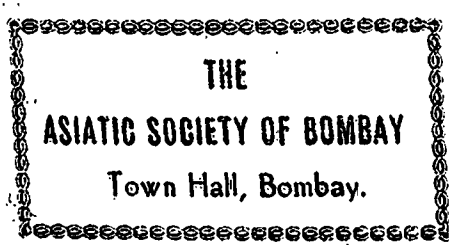

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CHARLES THE SECOND

IN

THE CHANNEL ISLANDS.

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A CONTRIBUTION TO
HIS BIOGRAPHY AND TO THE HISTORY OF HIS AGE.

BY

S. ELLIOTT HOSKINS, M.D. F.R.S.

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CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

THE DISSENTIENT LORDS REMAIN IN JERSEY—CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN HYDE AND CULPEPPER ABOUT PRIZE-MONEY—JERSEY THE RENDEZVOUS OF ROYALISTS—AFFAIRS OF PENDENNIS—SIR H. KILLIGREW'S FUNERAL—RICHARD FANSHAWE—PRINCE CHARLES AT FONTAINEBLEAU — MADEMOISELLE DE MONTPENSIER — MATRIMONIAL SPECULATIONS — GAIETIES AT PARIS — JERMYN'S DESIGN TO SELL THE ISLANDS TO FRANCE—LORD CAPEL LEAVES JERSEY—HIS CHARACTER—LORD SOMERSET ESCAPES TO JERSEY. . . 1—78

CHAPTER II.

CHARLES THE SECOND—MAZARIN ADVISES HIS GOING TO JERSEY—ITALIAN OPERA IN PARIS—PRINCE CHARLES AND MADEMOISELLE—CHANNEL ISLANDS THREATENED BY THE PARLIAMENTARIANS—HYDE'S LETTERS ON THE SUBJECT—RESIDES IN ELIZABETH CASTLE—LORD HOPTON LEAVES JERSEY—CARTERET'S PRIVATEERS—CAPTURE OF A TRANSPORT—DESPATCHES OF PRINCE CHARLES—HE SENDS

OVER AN ENGINEER—WARWICK'S SUMMONS FOR CARTERET TO SURRENDER—HIS REPLY—AN ENEMY'S SQUADRON REPULSED—THE 29TH OF MAY—FORT CHARLES INAUGURATED—JERSEY MINT, A BUBBLE—SUSPENSION OF PRIVATEERING, BY THE KING—HYDE'S REMONSTRANCES—PRINCE CHARLES SANCTIONS THE ISSUE OF LETTERS OF MARQUE—SEA FIGHTS—PARALLEL BETWEEN PRINCE RUPERT AND SIR GEORGE CARTERET—ROYALISTS IN JERSEY—"NEWS OF THE TIMES." . . . . . 79—169

CHAPTER III.

PRINCE CHARLES IN PARIS—HIS INATTENTION TO MADEMOISELLE—HER PROJECTS AND CAPRICES—FONTAINEBLEAU—ST. GERMAIN'S—DUELS BETWEEN PRINCE RUPERT, DIGBY, AND WILMOT—DESPATCHES FROM JERSEY TO THE ISLE OF WIGHT—ROYALIST REJOICINGS—PERSECUTION OF MALCONTENTS—REVOLT OF THE FLEET—HYDE LEAVES JERSEY—THE FRONDE—PRINCE CHARLES, INVITED TO IRELAND AND SCOTLAND, GOES TO THE HAGUE—THE FLEET IN THE DOWNS—REDUCTION OF GUERNSEY PROJECTED—PRINCE CHARLES AT THE HAGUE—HIS INTENTION OF RETURNING TO JERSEY—PROJECT AT JERSEY FOR RESCUING THE KING FROM HURST CASTLE. . 170—240

CHAPTER IV.

ROYALIST INSURRECTION IN SCILLY—NEWS OF THE KING'S EXECUTION REACHES JERSEY—PROCLAMATION OF CHARLES THE SECOND—FACTIONS AT THE HAGUE—THE YOUNG KING UNCERTAIN WHITHER TO GO—HIS JOURNEY FROM HOLLAND—ARRIVAL AT PERONNE—ENTERTAINMENT AT COMPEIGNE—THE HEIRESS OF ORLEANS—THE KING DETERMINES TO GO TO JERSEY—SIR GEORGE CARTERET IN ATTENDANCE AT ST. GERMAIN'S—HE IS SENT TO JERSEY TO MAKE ARRANGEMENTS FOR HIS MAJESTY'S ARRIVAL. . . . . 241—302

CHAPTER V.

PARTING INTERVIEW BETWEEN MADEMOISELLE AND CHARLES II.—HE QUITS ST. GERMAIN'S AND EMBARKS FOR JERSEY—REJOICINGS AT HIS ARRIVAL—THREATENED BY PARLIAMENTARY SHIPS—THE KING AND HIS COURT AT ELIZABETH CASTLE—LOCAL PARLIAMENT CONVENED—

THE KING AND HIS SUITE ATTEND CHURCH—VISIT TO MONT ORGUEIL —FATAL DUEL—DESPATCHES TO ORMOND—ROYAL COUNCIL—LORD PERCY NAMED GOVERNOR OF CASTLE CORNET—REVIEW OF THE INSULAR FORCES—FUNDS RAISED BY SALE OF CROWN LANDS—CHRISTENING OF SIR G. CARTERET'S DAUGHTER—QUERTO'S CONSPIRACY—ARRIVAL OF ROYALIST DEPUTIES FROM VARIOUS QUARTERS, AND OF DISTINGUISHED FOREIGNERS—DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM COMES OVER WITH HIS SUITE—THE KING'S LETTERS TO DUKE OF HAMILTON AND PRINCE RUPERT—MADAM BARLOW, THE ROYAL MISTRESS—PARDON OF A PARRICIDE—THE KING HOLDS A COURT BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE, AND GRANTS A PATENT FOR THE COLONY OF NEW JERSEY—HIS GRATITUDE TO THE MEN OF JERSEY—CONFIRMS THEIR ANCIENT RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES—THE KING'S LETTER TO ORMOND—DUKE OF YORK RETURNS TO FRANCE—CROMWELL PROVOKED BY THE "JERSEY PYRATES"—SURRENDER OF THE ISLAND TO BLAKE AND GENERAL HAYNES—CONCLUSION. . . . . 303—393

APPENDIX . . . . . 391—408

CHARLES THE SECOND

IN

THE CHANNEL ISLANDS.

CHAPTER I.

THE DISSENTIENT LORDS REMAIN IN JERSEY—CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN HYDE AND CULPEPPER ABOUT PRIZE-MONEY—JERSEY THE RENDEZVOUS OF ROYALISTS—AFFAIRS OF PENDENNIS—SIR H. KILLIGREW'S FUNERAL—RICHARD FANSHAWE—PRINCE CHARLES AT FONTAINEBLEAU—MADEMOISELLE DE MONTPENSIER—MATRIMONIAL SPECULATIONS—GAIETIES AT PARIS—JERMYN'S DESIGN TO SELL THE ISLANDS TO FRANCE—LORD CAPEL LEAVES JERSEY—HIS CHARACTER—LORD SOMERSET ESCAPES TO JERSEY.

Two days after the departure of Prince Charles from Jersey, his governor, the Earl of Berkshire, set sail for St. Maloes, intending to take passage from thence to Holland.[1] The Lords Capel, Hopton, and the future

[1] In the History of the Rebellion it is asserted that Lord Berkshire "went for England," which can scarcely be correct, as we find the copy of a letter dated at Jersey the 10th of July, in which Sir Edward Hyde himself writes, "I suppose my lord of Barkshire is before this time at the Hague." We are told by Chevalier that his lordship, his lady and their daughter, embarked on board a Dutch ship at St. Maloes, on the 3d of July, and passing near Jersey on his way to Holland; the Earl caused a salute to be fired as a leave-taking to his old friends on the island. If he did go to England, his stay there could not have been of long duration; his reason for repairing to the Hague, where he assuredly was in the month of October, is obvious: he had taken to wife a foreign lady of quality.

Lord Clarendon, "preferring a loyal part of the king's dominions to the wilderness of a foreign kingdom," remain in Jersey. Although not a little indignant at the unceremonious manner in which his highness has been withdrawn from their control, they are thoroughly convinced of having done their duty. It is however evident from their letters, that soon they begin to repent not having attended him into France; that they are apprehensive of having incurred his majesty's displeasure, for having too hastily deserted a charge specially entrusted to them by the king himself; and that they are conscious of having grievously offended the queen, whom they seek to propitiate, well aware of her influence over her royal husband.

Besides the three dissentient members of the prince's council, many other gentlemen, participating in their views, decline to accompany him into France, and take up their abode in Jersey, "not knowing where to be better or so well." Among these are Mr. Richard Fanshawe, Mr. Auditor Kinsman, Sir David Murray, Sir Henry Mannering, Sir John Macklin, Sir Edward Stawell, Dr. Henry Jamson; Mr. Edgeman, the chancellor's private secretary, Mr. Richard Watson, Lord Hopton's chaplain, and many other persons of distinction. By the aid of Chevalier's key we are enabled to decipher their hitherto disregarded correspondence, as well as to render clear numerous obscure passages in the Clarendon state papers. We are thereby furnished, moreover, with a tolerably connected summary of events relating to the history of the royalists, on both sides of the English Channel.

On the 27th of June we find that Captain Thomas Amy, whose letter has already been quoted,[1] arrives in

[1] *Vide* vol i. p. 350.

Jersey, he never having been there before. After cruising in the channel for a couple of months, in his frigate the Little George, of a hundred and sixty tons and eighteen guns, under a commission from Prince Charles, he succeeded in capturing four unwary merchantmen. Two of his prizes, with cargoes of wine intended for the English market, he has disposed of at Brest, not having hands enough to man them; the two others being more valuable, he brings along with him, having hired in that port forty men at ten crowns a head, payable on the completion of the voyage, to navigate them. One of the barques being unarmed, he has provided her with a piece of ordnance, and a couple of swivels, to enable her crew to beat off the Guernsey pataches in the event of her being attacked. In the meantime, however, Amy has met with some crosses, which it will be as well to allow him to narrate after his own fashion.

"Captain Thomas Amy to Sir Edward Hyde.

"Brest the 18th May 1646.

"Right Honorable

"May it please you to take notice that the 28th of the last moneth I sett saile from Silly, but by easterly windes I was constrained to come to anchor in Conquet rode, wher I staid 9 daies in expectation of a faire winde; but at last, in a storme, I was forced to come for this place, and, in our way up the river, our ship struck on a hidden rock; but, God be praised, miraculously escaped, however I feare 500 livres will not repaire the breach. I have caused her to be haled ashore, and I hope in 14 daies to be readie to saile towards Jersey, unlesse, in the interim, I receave your commands to the contrary. Hoping when I come ther I shalbe delivered

of the intollerable burthen I now suffer under, not only by a crew of discontented, disaffected rogues, whom, I thourely feare will carry me into England, insomuch that I have hardly slept since I came from Silly; but also that I am here wholly unknowen, and disacquainted, that I know not what shift to make to gett monies for to mende our ship, or buy victualls, and my men doe every moment persecute me for their wages, and this morning they came to me with a generall exclamation that they had bene foure moneths on the ship without pay; and that now they resolved not to put their hands to any thing more, or proceed farther in the ship unlesse they were forthwith paid, soe that unlesse I receave some order from your Honor for the furnishing me with 1500 livres, I shall either be compelled to leave the ship here, or to sell Mr. Godolphin's tynne, which my company sweare shall not stirre out of the ship till they be paid; in regard the corne, which should have paid their wages, was delivered him at Silly. I have done what I can to appease them, but it passeth my skill, it is much contrary to my disposition, and breeding, soe to submit myselfe to a company of raskalls, neither coould I for any other respect, than the good of his highnesse' service. * * * * * If he chance to move (from Jersey) I hope your Honor will be pleased to leave order for my proceedings, and furnishing me with money, when I shall arrive there, till when and I ever I rest &c.

"THOMAS AMY.[1]

"To the Right Honble Sir Edward Hyde, &c.
Now in the Island of Jersey."

[1] From the Clarendon Papers. These manuscripts also contain two letters from Francis Godolphin to Hyde, dated Caen, the 11th and 23d

Instead of finding the Prince in Jersey, as he more or less calculated on, and thus hoping to get the vessels he brought with him adjudged and condemned at once as lawful prizes, Amy was greeted by the following document; which indicates that his highness was no longer in want of men-of-war, and in no condition to maintain them, had they been wanted:—

"Charles P.

"We will and require you speedily after sight hereof to deliver the Shippe called the Little George, together with the Cannon, Ammunition, tackling and all other Materialls belonging to her, into the possession of such person or persons as the Lord Culpeper, and Sir Edward Hyde Kt. Chancellor of his Majesty's Exchequer, or either of them shall appoint to receive the same, to be disposed of as they, or either of them shall direct. Whereof you are in no wise to faile. And for so doing this shalbe your sufficient warrant. And our further pleasure is, in case the prizes lately taken by you, shall come short of satisfieing what is due to you, and your Company, That the same shalbe satisfied by the said lord Culpeper, and Sir Edward Hyde. Given at our Court, in the Island of Jersey, the 22nd of June, 1646.

"To Captaine Amy, commander of the Little George, and to all other persons whome it may concearne."[1]

of June, making heavy complaints against Amy for withholding the tin he was conveying to France, and for searching his trunks for money. We also find an account of Amy's for "monies disbursed for victualling the ship; including 7 livres for the post which went to St. Maloes," doubtless with his letter to the Chancellor.

[1] Clarendon MSS.

His highness having left Jersey, a messenger was despatched to St. Germains to obtain an order for the confiscation of the captured vessels; in due time the order came, and they were formally condemned by the local admiralty judge (Amias Andros). One of these prizes was a Flemish barque, quite new, chartered by French merchants for English consignees, and laden with salt. The cargo was sold forthwith to the islanders, for seven sous six deniers per cabot, but the barque herself, being a neutral bottom, was reclaimed, and given up to the Flemish owners, who set sail in her at once for St. Maloes. On her way thither she was intercepted and again captured by our old acquaintance, Captain Copping, now in the service of the Guernsey rebels, who took her in the first place to that island, and afterwards to St. Maloes, where the French authorities obliged Copping to restore her to the Flemings.

Amy's other prize was a fine new English vessel, of 120 tons, and eight guns, laden with Spanish wine and raisins, captured off Brittany, on her voyage from Malaga to London. After some demur, she also was condemned, the Malaga wine and dried fruits were put in cellars in the town of St. Aubin's; but the guns were claimed as legitimate spoil by the vice-admiral, being admirably adapted for his new fortifications in progress at Elizabeth castle. In a short time factors came over from various parts to deal with the authorities, who sold the handsome craft and her cargo to certain English merchants for the sum of 8,000 livres.

This vessel is evidently the "Malaga prize" alluded to in the following correspondence;[1] and it is equally

[1] From the Clarendon MSS.

clear that Hyde and Culpepper participated in the profits arising from the sale of ship and cargo.

"Sir Edward Hyde to Mr. Long.

"Jersey this 12th of July 1646

"Sir,

"I receaved yours of the 13th (3rd) of this moneth, together with a petition from Mr. Alford,[1] which I could have wished had been referred to all my lords, who may apprehend themselves sett asyde, (which I presume they are not in the Prince's good opinion) as they will never deserve to be. I returne you our certificate upon the petition, which I assure you is very true, and you will then finde, that the intimation given to the Prince, was not right, and that you must ether recall all letters of mark, or allowe this to be good pryze. I was very sollicitous for Mr. Alford, as soon as the pryze came in (though I have reason to believe he is very little concerned in it) but the person that followed it, his servant,[2] is so unskillfull, that I know not what to do for him; and havinge fully contracted for the whole, and confessed (as he might well) that by our mediation he had a very good bargayne, since the rumour of this petition, he hath receded from his bargayne, very much to the prejudice of the Prince, the seamen beinge in mutiny for ther money, but of that no more.

"I shall not neede to recommende this bearer Mr. Butterworth to you, since I know both the justice of his suite, and his relation to Mr. Secretary Nicholas (whose Brother he is) will oblige you to assist him; the money he askes, you will finde certified by us in the

[1] Probably the owner of the prize.

[2] One of the factors mentioned by Chevalier.

Account sciit by Mr. Nicolle,[1] and, I believe, is all left of a very good fortune, and was layd out by him upon the Prince's command and for his service. * * * * *

"Yours, &c.

"EDW. HYDE."

"Mr. Longe."

"Lord Culpeper to Sir Edward Hyde.—

"St. Germains, 14th August 1646.

"DEARE CHANCELLOUR,

"This is only to desire you to make all convenient hast in our particular buisinesse to the best advantage you cann. The Prince is peticioned againe about the Malaga Prise, (it being alleaged that there is an overvalue sett upon the Seamen's dues, and that the goods are suffered to perish), but nothinge will be donne untill wee heare from you, and Sir George Cartrett about it. Ther is a worde in Sir Henry De Vic his leter (mentioned to you in my last) touchinge the restitution of prises not disposed of, soe that if that pointe should be stirred (as I believe it will not) it might pussell the buisinesse. It is alleaged that the Brest (Malaga) prise was taken out of the kinges chamber, which, though I beleave not, yet if the man of warre that tooke her should come into these ports, without a legall alteringe the property, she might probably be arrested about that buisinesse. The way to helpe it, is to make an order with the merchants (if you cann) or, if that cannot be (if you meet with a good opertunity) to

[1] This Mr. Nicolle, whose name is often mentioned, and variously spelt, in the correspondence of the period, was a Jerseyman; an agent of Sir George Carteret's, and frequently transacted business for him in Paris. He must not be confounded, as the Editor of Evelyn's Diary justly observes, with Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

alter the property, and at the same time to do our buisinesse. I cannot write you anything considerable from England. The Prince goeth this weeke to Fountain Billeau for four or five days. You shall shortly heare againe from your faithfull servant

"JOHN CULPEPER."

"For the right honourable Sir Edward Hyde Chancellour of the Exchequer at Jersey with speed—Jersey."

"Recommandé à Monsieur Ekine[1] Poone à Mallo—Addressé per Mons. Cad. Jones."[2]

The Little George has all this time been laid up at St. Aubin's undergoing repair, and having her hull caulked under the superintendence of Captain Amy, who has kept his crew together and expects soon to go cruising as heretofore against the English rebels. But the lords remaining in Jersey got wind of his intentions; and the governor in his capacity of admiral wrote word thereof to the prince, apprising him that it is to be feared that the frigate may either be taken by the parliamentarians, or that Amy may give her up to them. An order at once comes down for the frigate to be sold, and Sir George disposes of her, together with her eighteen guns, and every thing belonging to her, to a joint-stock company of Jerseymen and *Malouins* (St. Maloes' folk) for eight thousand livres tournois.[3] In the meantime Culpepper is impatient for the termination of

[1] Etienne.

[2] We shall know more about Cadwallader Jones presently.

[3] Captain Amy afterwards purchased a privateer of his own, and having obtained a roving commission from the Jersey Vice-Admiral,

what he calls "our buisinesse," and anticipates the receipt of his share of the Malaga prize.

"Lord Culpepper to Sir Edward Hyde.

"St. Germains Sept 1st

"DEAR CHANCELLOR,

"By my guilt paper[1] you see how rich you have made me (in my opinion); therefore be sure you be not too wise, and thereby make me poore againe by deferring our buisinesse in hopes of the other £50. Dispatch quickly for ready money, and we are men made; I hate second payments (a hundred tricks will be in the trick of it). Or, if you must have any, trust none but honest

and a protection from the King of France, continued to cruise, in general with success, upon parliamentarian traders; now and then, however, in much danger from their cruisers. On one occasion he was reported to have been taken by them, and this coming to the ears of his wife, it shocked her so much as to cause her premature confinement and death. A monument to her memory in black marble was discovered on the walls of the church of St. Helier's early in the present century. It bears the following inscription, not improbably from the pen of Sir Edward Hyde: "Hic jacet Garthruda Amy, Charissima nuper Uxor Thomæ Amy, Centurionis.

Enysea de stirpe meum Cornubia partum
Vindicat: Hillarius jam tenet ossa sacer.
Per Gallos Sporadasque pium comitata maritum
Deferor huc: visa est sors mihi nulla gravis.
Viximus unanimes et prima prole beati;
In mundum duplici morte secunda venit.
Pignora dividimus: comitatur me morientem
Mortua: solatur filia prima patrem.

She sprung from the ancient family of Enys, near Truro; and her husband was a descendant of the Amys of Bowcastle, in Cornwall."

Judging from a passage previously quoted, and from the style of his letter, he appears to have been rather superior to the generality of sea captains of that period.

[1] Whoever chooses to verify this statement, may do so by turning to the original in the Bodleian Library; it is written on paper, neither bleached, hot-pressed, nor cream-laid, but its gilt edges are untarnished.

Islanders for security. I ame soe hott upon the buisinesse that I can hardly forbear sending you as a president of the French bills of exchange. Let me heare from you quickly, and, if you will think upon my former motion (to visitt your frends here) indeed you will not repent it; my service to all with you, and (trust me) I shall alwaies be in faith and affection,

" Sir,

" Your very humble servant,

" J. CULPEPER.

" There is a peace in Ireland, and good hopes of a generall one on this side the seas. God send one (a good one) on the other."

Beyond the end of the month my Lord Culpepper is unable to restrain his anxious desire to know when his honorarium is likely to be forthcoming. He is an admirer of Shakspeare, and bursts forth with the semblance of a quotation.

" Lord Culpeper to Sir Edward Hyde.

"St. Germains 27th Sept 1646.

" Dear Chancellor,

" This is my fourth leter to you to the same tune, money! Money, for the lord's sake money! Honest Jago (sic) his councell is the best that I can meet with, which your bills only cann enable me to pursue. For the retornes I hope you will not finde them difficult (there beinge a constant trade from you to Paris); or, if you should, when I shall know that the money is in your custody, I can easily take order in it either from Paris,

or from St. Malos. The other exchange you touched uppon (the Governour's money [1]) will not fitt me, and it will be easier for me to be his Solicitor than my owne. My affectionate service attends on frends with you, and I shall allwaies preserve for yourselfe a faithfull frendly harte according to the professions of &c.

"J. CULPEPER.

"Our Northerne newes brings with it a new springe of hopes, the particulars, (as well as the circumstances of of the bearer) are to long for this leter."

"For the Rt Hon^be^. Sir Edward Hyde, &c.
at Jersey."

"Lord Culpeper to Sir Edward Hyde.

"Paris 18^th^ October 1646

"Dear Chancellour,

"This day I receaved yours of the 28^th^ of Sept. by my landlord, Mr Chevalier, whoe sayeth he will pay me the 300 pistoles uppon my promise that you will repay him uppon his retorne, (for I perceive he had rather go to your lodginge for it, than to the Castle). Therefore I desire you to have it ready for him against his retorne. And if Mr Jones should send, or come to you about it, pray let him knowe that the businesse is done, soe that I shall not trouble him further in it, (for I did write to him to receave it, and to returne it to me from St Malo). J. Ash[2] is at Roane, but relye on it you shall speedily have all (and more than) you desire of him. This instant the London leters arrived, but I assure you I finde no newes in them soe good that

[1] That due to Sir George Carteret for his loan to the Prince.

[2] Ashburnham.

it is worth communicatinge to you. The Scotts doe still presse the Kinge to give up all, and professe that, otherwise, they will give up him. When there is any good newes, beleave it, I shall most willingly speed it to you, for it is a penance to me to write it. God blesse you, and my lords with you, I am &c

"JOHN CULPEPER."

"Paris 2nd November 1646

"MR. CHANCELLOUR,

"I desire you to pay this bearer, Mr. Clement Chevalier, the somme of 300 pistolls (3000lbs tourneois) for the same somme receaved of him this day (except you have formerly paid it to his wife, according to my leters to you), and put it to my accounte who ame,

"Your very humble servant,

"JOHN CULPEPER."

"To the Right Honourable
Sir Edward Hyde, Knight,
Chancellour of his Majesties
Exchequer."

"Received of the Right Honourable Sir Edward Hyde, Knight, Chancellour of his Majesties Exchequer, The sume of 3000lbs, mentioned in the other part, for value paid by mee in Paris to the Lord Culpeper.

"CL. CHEVALIER."

"Jersey the 2nd November 1646."

After this we hear no more of the Malaga prize; Lord Culpepper has received his long coveted share of profits, and all parties seem to have been perfectly satisfied. Not so the islanders, who considered themselves a very ill-used people, owing to the unforeseen and abrupt

departure of the Prince without bidding them farewell, or thanking them for all they had done, and were inclined to do, to ensure his comfort and security. They were as much disheartened at his going as they had been elated at his coming; and now unable to penetrate the motives for his quitting their protection to throw himself into the arms of a foreign power; with no apparent threatening of danger from without, no suspicion of treachery from within, they look upon his departure as a tacit reflection on their loyalty, a want of confidence in their courage and devotion.

But Sir George Carteret, foreseeing this, had contrived to extract a healing balm for their wounded *amour propre*, in the form of a commendatory letter from the Prince in council, written a day or two before his leaving. It was read on the 2d of July to the assembled states, who caused it to be translated into French, and circulated through all parts of the island. Chevalier, wonderful to relate, has preserved no copy of this epistle, but merely presents us with the following abstract: "la quelle lettre contenoit comment le Prince remercioit Messieurs les Etats, et les habitans du pays, du bon traitement qu'il avoit reçu dans cette isle; et de la bonne affection qu'ils lui avoient portés; les priant de continuer pour l'avenir, comme ils avoient fait du passé, fidèles vers sa Majesté, et obeissants aux commandemens de leur gouverneur, le Chevalier George de Carteret."

It would be tedious and unprofitable to follow the governor's self constituted historiographer in his prolix details respecting the administration of affairs purely local: to relate minutely how, as head of the church, (the deanery being again in abeyance) Sir George appoints fast days, "to avert the Divine wrath," and

regulates ecclesiastical temporalities; how, as head of the state, he directs legislative and judicial proceedings; how, as commander-in-chief of the forces he disciplines his garrisons and his militia, takes measures to guard the coasts against sudden surprisal, and superintends the erection of new fortifications; how, as vice-admiral, he grants roving commissions to those who resort to his flag, and fits out privateers of his own; how, as judge of the admiralty, he condemns their prizes, to meet the expenses of his self-supporting system; how he appropriates the revenues of estates confiscated by the royal commissioners; and lastly, how he supplies Sir Baldwin Wake, now as clamorous as his predecessor, Sir Peter.

It will be necessary, however, to select such passages as relate, directly or indirectly, to Prince Charles's future career; and to make use of the diary as a means of showing the connexion existing between local and general politics. His highness' visit has rendered Jersey a sort of central banking establishment for himself and the banished royalists, a central post office, a central exchange, commercial and diplomatic. We have already seen that Sir George has raised a loan to supply the Prince's necessities,—not yet repaid; that none but honest islanders are to be trusted for discounting bills; Hyde moreover tells Mr. Secretary Nicholas that the governor "is strangely civil to all men, but immoderately so to such gentlemen as have seemed to serve the king in this quarrel."

Intermediate between England and France, the most direct route from the west, Jersey affords the best means of intercommunication between the beleaguered royalists in Cornwall, and their exiled countrymen on the con-

tinent; and it serves as a rendezvous for political agents, and a mart towards which factors are attracted by the hope of great bargains in the purchase of prizes and their cargoes.[1]

The time is however fast approaching when Jersey is to become a refuge for destitute cavaliers; and to contain the only fortresses, except Castle Cornet, on which the royal standard may float with impunity. Oxford, Worcester, Wallingford, Ragland Castle, it is true, still hold out; stout old Pendennis has not yet succumbed to Fairfax, nor has Scilly yielded to Batten. But, alas! Pendennis is reduced to the last extremity, and the account of its sad condition reaches Jersey on the 13th of July.

The bearer of this mournful intelligence is a certain royalist colonel, who has only one arm, the other he has lost from a wound received in battle. About a fortnight ago he quitted Pendennis, being deputed by the governor of that fortress to convey information as to the state of the garrison to the Prince, supposed still to be at Jersey, and to implore him to send over instant supplies. The besiegers' scouts who had descried him, immediately reported that a man had been seen to leave the castle stealthily, and to cross the bay in a small shallop. Parties of the enemy were at once sent out to apprehend him; but by hiding among the rocks the colonel succeeded in eluding them. In a day or two he hailed a barque belonging to Guernsey, and was taken on board; the master and the crew treated him kindly, concealed

[1] Such a number of persons of all nations (says Chevalier), English French, Scotch, Irish, and Flemings, were passing and repassing through Jersey during these disturbed times, some on public, others on private affairs, that it was impossible to keep any account of them, unless they happened to be of some note.

him in the hold of the vessel, and agreed to land him at St. Maloes for a stipulated sum. The barque durst not venture into Jersey, as she was in parliamentary employ. For upwards of a week the colonel remained undiscovered on board the vessel, which on her way to France was captured by a frigate, commanded by Captain Skinner, belonging to Sir George Carteret, and Bowden. The unfortunate colonel was pillaged by the royalist crew, who took from him seventeen pounds sterling, and several pieces of eight; and although he claimed protection as a cavalier he had much trouble in getting back his money. Indeed it is uncertain whether it was ever restored to him, for on his arrival in Jersey he was immediately forwarded to France, and hurried off to Paris to tell his sad story and that of the famished garrison, with his own lips, to the Prince. "On dit, qu'il avoit une lettre écrite sur du Cambrai (laquelle chaque lettre et syllable faisoit un mot) composée d'une façon si artificielle, que bien peu la pouvoient lire; laquelle s'addressoit au Prince."

This account of Chevalier's tallies so closely with the endorsement of a manuscript in the Clarendon collection, as to leave little doubt on the reader's mind of the following being a transcript of the identical letter, written in strange characters on cambric, entrusted to the care of the one-armed colonel.

"Letter from Pendennis, 27th June, receaved by (through) Lt.-col. Rofrarroche,[1] the 13th of July, at Jersey, and sent away to the Prince the same minute.

[1] We have examined many documents relating to this period, and have taxed our ingenuity in vain to discover a name bearing any remote resemblance to Rofrarroche, which we suspect to have been mispelt by the original decypherer.

"May it please your Highnesse

"Wee informed you of our sad condicion nyne weekes since, and have heard by chance only that the messenger[1] came safe to you. It is now come to the last with us, and the Place which you, and your Father's whole interest in the West, must be necessarily so ruined within three weekes, as twice as many yeares, in all probability, will not be able to repayre it. Wee urge nothinge for ourselves, nor the rest of your loyall servants here, who are poorly clothed, and sickly fedd upon Bread and Water. Wee hope the waight of the matter will move, and therefore lay by all eloquence about the deserts or sufferings of

Your highnesse most humble servants,

JOHN DIGBY,	JOHN ARUNDELL,
H. KILLIGREW,	of Trerise,[2]
A. SHIPMAN,	WALTER SLINGESBY,
RICHARD ARUNDELL,	JOSEPH JANE,
WILL. SLAUGHTER,	ROB. HARRIS,
CHA. JENNINGS,	HEN SHELLEY,
MATH. WYSE,	LEWIS TREMAYNE."
JO. BURLY,	

"Pendennis Castle the
27th of June 1646."

[1] The messenger was Sir Thomas Hooper, whose arrival with despatches in Jersey on the 2d of May is alluded to in Sir Edward Hyde's letter to Colonel Richard Arundell.—State Papers, vol. ii. p. 229.

[2] Pendennis Castle "was defended by the governor thereof, John Arundel, of Trerise, an old gentleman of near fourscore years of age; and of one of the best estates, and interests in that county; who with the assistance of his son, Richard Arundel, who was then a colonel in the army, a stout and diligent officer; and was, by the king after his return, made a Baron, lord Arundel of Trerise, in memory of his father's service, and his own admirable behaviour throughout the war."—Hist. of Reb.

The Prince, to whom the above letter is addressed, was at this period a mere nonentity, as far as public business is concerned. Jermyn, as we have already heard, and shall again, was utterly indifferent as to the fate of Pendennis; so that this touching appeal, striking from the very absence of eloquence, produced no sensible effect upon the keeper of the queen's purse, notwithstanding his subsequent professions of regard for his "dear cousin," Harry Killigrew. It was not until other messengers had been sent over by the beleaguered governor;—not without much exertion on the part of agents already in France;—and not without much loss of irretrievable time, that money was advanced for the purchase of supplies, so much wanted and so earnestly prayed for. Thus much we learn from Chevalier, and from the following letter:—

"Mr. John Jane[1] to Mr. William Edgeman.

"St Malo 22nd August (stilo norr) 1646

"Sir,

"Having the oportunity, I cannot neglect to give you an account of my journey to St Jermin's in behalfe of Capt. Nicholas, who came from the castle of Pendennis; and I beseech you acquaint Mr. Chanceller with so much; that after I delivered the Packet to the Prince's hand (in which Mr. Chancellor had one letter from my uncle Jane, but I could not get it) I addrest myselfe, for dispatch to my lord Jermyn and my lord Culpepper, from whome I was promised to have it; but, after five days attendance, and having no dispatch, I went to Mr. Jo Ashburham, who did, as I conceave,

[1] Clarendon MSS.—John Jane was the nephew of Joseph, whose signature is appended to the letter from Pendennis.

farther the busnesse, as much as in him lay. At last after seven days wayting, and much art us'd, (as I conceved to divert all reliefe from the castle) by telling they had made a greate sally, and releved themselves; and to testify that truth, Capt. Alford brought in a letter (in tyme of the debate of busnesse) which came from Dartmouth, and confirmed all the reports of theire releving themselves,—all which to me seeme verry strange, knowing it impossible.

"At last I rec[d] a letter from the Governor of the castle, together with forty pistoles (in money not weight) which was to be imployed to vittle the Shallope, to tryme her, and bye a new maynemast; to pay for the dyet of 22 men, 29 dayes, and also to bye them stockings, and shoues; they being altogether bare footed, and utterly refuse to goe without them. Since my returne heere, which was 2 days since, wee have so husbanded the busnesse, as to give the souldyers content in stockings and shoues, fitted theire boate with a mainemast, and other necessaryes, payde for theire dyet, all to 14 pistoles, or theirabouts, for which the boate is stopt, though one my word, and bill to the man to see him paid, he hath freed the boate; and tomorrow, God willing, goes to Morlaix, to receive her loading, which is there redy. By the next post I intend to send to the lords at St Germins with a particular (one good testement of my disbursements) not about this busnesse, and shall desire theire discharge of my engagements, which I cannot pay; and yet much feare to be releved, in respect of their former slacknesses. However, I resolve to suffer imprisonment heere to doe them good in the Castle, having receved 2 letters by Capt. Pynder, who came from the Castle the 22[nd] of July last (English account)

and did carry them in some small provisions;[1] but by Sir Harry Killigrewe's, and my uncle Jane's letters it apeers theire case is somewhat sad; and have desired me to send them in some provisions, bysides the publicque store, which I have donne from hence, to the valew of 10 pistoles, which hath almost lesned my small stocke to nothing, and except I am releved of the 14 pistoles, I am sure to suffer much. Sir, I shall aquaint you of my lords answer, as soon as I have it; and if neede be shall desire the dyrections of the lords at Jersey.

* * * * *

"The French allow the Prince nothing of their great promises; and I thinke the Cort wish themselves at Jarsey agayne. Present my humble service to Mr. Auditor Kinsman, and tell him I shall not neglect so much hereafter; but will send him, also to Mr. Trethewey, who I hard had sent me a letter aboute a month since, but never had it.

* * * * *

"Excuse my hasty tyme at this tyme; whenever or what you please to command me,

"Sir

"I am your servant

"JOHN JANE."

"To my much esteemed frend
Mr. William Edgeman at
Mr. Chanceller's lodgings, in Jersey."

"P.S. The order which Capt. Nicholas had to goe to Morlaix came not from the lords at St. Germin's, but from the Castle, and Capt. Pinder."

[1] As a voucher for the safe arrival of Capt. Pynder's "small provisions," we have this entry in Whitelocke, on the 22d of August: "Pendennis Castle had some relief by sea."—Memorials, p. 223.

The following insincere and inelegant epistle, in both respects characteristic of the writer, is evidently the reply to Killigrew's application, alluded to in Jane's letter; and as evidently bears reference to the address from the council of war at Pendennis, conveyed to the Prince of Wales by the one-armed lieutenant-colonel, with the enigmatical name.

"Lord Jermyn to Sir H. Killigrew.[1]

"August 16th 1646

"My dear Cousin Harry,

"I have received yours, and truly do, with all grief and respect that you can imagine to be in any body, look upon your sufferings and bravery in them; and do further assure you, that the relief of so many excellent men, and preservation of so important a place, is taken into all the considerations that the utmost possibility that can be in the Queen, to contribute to either, can extend to. The same care is in the Prince, from whose own hand you will particularly understand it.

"I have now only time to tell you, that I am convinced those little stores that will give us and you time to stay, and provide for more, will be arrived with you; and I do not encourage you vainly, but to let you know a truth that cannot fail, that if you, (as I in no way doubt) have rightly represented the state of the place, and of the minds that are in it, you shall be enabled to give the account you wish, beyond your expectations; and already some money is at the sea side for this purpose, and more shall daily be sent.

"I entreat most earnestly of you, that the governor,

[1] Cary's Memorials, p. 145.

Sir John Digby, and those other gentlemen, that did me the honour to write to me, may find here that I shall not fail to give them answer by next. In the mean space, God of Heaven keep you all, and give us if he please a meeting with you in England.

"He Jermyn."

The "little stores" ready at Morlaix, purchased with the money already (?) at the sea side, were shipped on board two hired shallops, and a small patache recently built at Roscoff, by order of the queen. They all three set sail for Pendennis, and neared the Castle during the ensuing night, but found it impossible to elude the vigilance of the blockading squadron. At daybreak they were obliged to stand off, as several ships were sent out in pursuit of them, from which they escaped with difficulty, only by plying their oars with vigour and perseverance. Finding that any further attempt to relieve the Castle would be useless, they returned to Morlaix, where they re-landed their cargoes, and awaited further orders. After a time Sir George Carteret sent over for the Roscoff patache, which had been placed at his disposal by the queen and the prince, for the purpose of conveying provisions to Castle Cornet.

Meanwhile, three English officers of rank,[1] who had escaped from Pendennis, arrived in Jersey, bringing intelligence that the garrison was reduced to the necessity of killing their horses, and feeding upon the flesh thereof, for want of other provisions. This statement is confirmed by the subjoined order:—

[1] Three brothers of the name of Collins; they had originally been attached to the garrison of St. Michael's Mount, but when the governor of that stronghold, much to his own advantage, and that of his family,

"It is ordered, and Col Jenens, Lev^t^ General Buckley, and Major Brittayn are hereby desired, and appointed to view all the horses within this garrison; and that they take particular notice of all such horses, as are fit to be killed for beefe, for provisions for the garrison; and that they give an account of their doeings herein to-morrow at two o'clocke in the afternoone, unto the Governor and Councell.

"JOHN ARUNDELL,
"Governor of Pendennis."[1]

The parliamentarians accused the council of an attempt to blow up Pendennis, and "Mr. John Hoselock, Chyrurgeon to Vice-Admiral Captain Batten, in the St. Andrew," printed and published[1] the following "true relation of the Discoverie of a bloody designe for the blowing up of the Castle, and poysoning [spiking] of foure-score Pieces of Ordnance."

rendered it up to Sir Thomas Fairfax, they refusing to take the covenant, (the meaning of which Chevalier has by this time ascertained,) fled to Pendennis. This fortress being after a time on the point of surrendering, the three brothers let themselves down from the walls at night, and escaping in a small shallop, reached the coast of Brittany, and came to Jersey by way of St. Maloes. The eldest brother, about forty-eight years of age, was a colonel in the royal army: the identical Colonel Collins, deputed by Sir Edward Hyde, as we see by the State Papers, to convey his letter of the 21st of November to the king. This letter was never delivered to his majesty; Colonel Collins went to France instead of England, entered the French service, served a campaign or two against the Spaniards, and then returned to Jersey. Our inquisitive journalist manages to collect particulars of the Colonel's adventures in foreign parts. The second brother, thirty-six years old, was a Lieutenant-Colonel, and the youngest, thirty years of age, a Serjeant major,—a rank bearing no analogy to the non-commissioned Serjeant-major of the present day. The two younger Collins's remained in Jersey, took service with Sir George Carteret, and were enrolled in the garrison of Elizabeth Castle.

[1] King's Pamphlets, British Museum.

"Loving Frend the well wishes of a friend besides this, these may as well certifie you of our health as of the surrender of Pendennis Castle to Colonell Fortescue, and our Commanders. The verye truth is they would not have yeelded to the Colonell, but to avoyde contention the Admirall desired they would treate with both, which treatie at first did not hold, for they had no mind to the land forces (neither valued them) as in my hearing the governor of the castle told the Admirall but as sure as may be, at the breaking off of the first treatie they went into the Castle and took an oath, all of the Gentry, to split the ordnance (of which we have found four score and odd) and to blow upp the Castle, and soe fall upon the land forces, to live and die together. This you may verye credible report, for I have heard it from the mouthes of the best of them, and Sir Henry Killegrew, my patient, with home I was two howers before they surrendered to us. But the prevention of this plot was by meanes of the Admirall, for he had soe wrought with some that Came a bord, that he put all the souldiers in a mutinie; and by this meanes Digbie and his crew could not performe their bloody designe, and soe they came again to treate, and surrendered the 17th day. There was no bread nor drink, only a little water; nor meat only a cask of horse salted; but pouder and shot enough. We have taken their best Shallop from them that no other durst venter to them. I beleeve there is betwixt 3 and 400 sicke left behind, the rest are marcht to their homes, only some that are to be transported to France. Hast calls away, but I hope to prattle more with thee over a pinte, shortly; therefore only remembering my love to Father

Hadley, Master Warten, Brother Baker, and all the honest crew; I rest,

"Your loving frend
"JOHN HASLOCK."[1]

In a short time news reached Jersey, through France, that Pendennis had at length surrendered, and that the garrison, about 1200 men, had marched out to the rendezvous, where they were to deliver up their arms on the 17th of August, with all the honours of war; the soldiers retaining their baggage, and allowed either to return to their own homes, take the covenant, or be transported beyond sea in vessels provided by the conquerors. Some few adopted the two former conditions, but the greater proportion, preferring banishment to taking service with rebels, or living ingloriously in their own country, were put on board two trans-

[1] From a pamphlet printed from the original copies, according to order of Parliament, by B. T., London, 1646. In addition to the "bloody designe" above quoted, the pamphlet contains a perfect relation of the surrender of the strong and impregnable castle of the island of Scillie; "an excellent copy of verses made in Pendennis Castle when it was besieged by sea and land, also a perfect account of the ammunition, &c. left in the castle, together with a list of the names of all the Colonels, Majors, Captaines, Lieutenants, and other officers, that were therein." (*Vide* Appendix.) A specimen only of the verses will suffice, but should the remainder be coveted by the curious in such fustian, they are to be seen among the pamphlets in the British Museum.

Penelopen ipsum Perses, modo tempore vinces. OVID.

"Lady Penelope, faire Queen, most chast
Pendennis, of all Royal Forts the last,
The last the only fort here conquered was
Nere shall be, who in constancy doth passe
The rest of all thy sisters, who to thee
(The Enlips of all the kinde) but strumpets be."

ports, and each soldier furnished with a piece of money to defray his expenses. One party was transported to Dieppe, the other to St. Maloes; of these, some entered the service of the French king, while others joined the prince at St. Germain's.

Lord Jermyn and "all the French party on the queen's side, were glad at the loss of Pendennis, and wished that the king should have no other hope in England, but from them."[1] It is probable, therefore, that the loyal officers who had suffered such severe privations in the defence of that fortress met with little sympathy, and less cordiality than they expected or deserved. At all events, many found themselves incapable of conforming to French customs, or of understanding the French language; and not much edified with the service of the French church at Charenton, they soon quitted Paris and came to reside in Jersey. There they were welcomed by many old friends; were better appreciated; and enjoyed the comfort of attending divine service, regularly performed in English according to the ritual of the Anglican church established by Queen Elizabeth, and confirmed by King James.

All who went to the island on this occasion were persons distinguished for unswerving loyalty and attachment to the Protestant religion; among whom Chevalier makes special mention of Sir Abraham Shipman, Lieutenant Colonel Dwyer (Dolly Dyer as he is called in John Haslock's list), Colonel Slingsby, and the Reverend Lionel Gatford. The latter, who was chaplain to the old Earl of Norwich (George Goring's father) had been shut up for six months in Pendennis; fearful of being recognised as an episcopalian minister, at the time of the surrender, he

[1] State Papers, vol. ii. p. 276.

exchanged his clerical garments for a suit of grey, marched out unnoticed with the rest, and thus escaped detention, and probably worse treatment still. According to all accounts, including the Chancellor's, Mr. Gatford was a most exemplary character. "Au bout de neuf jours après son arrivée, il fit un sermon admirable en Anglois dans le temple de Saint Hélier. C'etoit en chaire une perle de grand prix, lequel ravissoit le cœur de ses auditeurs."

Sir Harry Killigrew also was expected daily, he being at St. Maloes; "from whence he writ to the Chancellor in Jersey, that he would procure a bark of that island to go to St. Maloes to fetch him from thence; which, by the kindness of Sir George Carteret, was presently sent, with a longing desire to receive him into that island; the two lords Capel and Hopton, and the governor, having an extraordinary affection for him, as well as the Chancellor. Within two days after, upon view of the vessel at sea (which they well knew), they all made haste to the harbour to receive their friend; but, when they came thither, to their infinite regret, they found his body there in a coffin, he having died at St. Maloes within a day after he had written his letter."

Chevalier's account forms an interesting sequel to Clarendon's passing tribute to the memory of his intimate and gallant friend, the very type of an old cavalier; who was very terrible to all those that did not love the king, and "in the House when one offered to raise ten horses and another twenty," to support the Earl of Essex, he stood up in his place and exclaimed, that "he would provide a good horse, and a good buff coat, and a good pair of pistols, and then he doubted not but he should find a good cause."

Sir Henry after the capitulation of Pendennis Castle, which he had assisted in defending above six months, was wounded severely in the head by the bursting of a pistol he was discharging, but which had remained too long loaded. The wound was skilfully dressed by a chirurgeon (John Haslock evidently), and it was nearly healed when he left the castle and took charge of the exiled soldiers proceeding to St. Maloes. Here, however, whilst contemplating a visit to his friends in Jersey he was attacked with an ardent fever which confined him to his bed. Some English "fathers," popish priests, who resided at St. Maloes, hearing of his danger, gained access to him under the hope of converting him to the Romish faith, but he would not vouchsafe a word in reply to their exhortations, and abruptly turned his back upon them. He behaved differently, however, to a Protestant minister who subsequently visited him at his bedside, giving him full assurance of his being a sincere Christian, and firm believer in the grace of Jesus Christ. And feeling that his end was fast approaching, he made it his last request that his body should be conveyed to Jersey for interment.

He died on the 27th of September; his corpse was embalmed at St. Maloes, placed in a coffin covered with black baize, and on the 1st of October the ship which had been sent to bring him over living, transported his inanimate remains to *le havre de pas* in Jersey. From thence the coffin was conveyed to the town of St. Helier's, and lay in state at the house of the constable, guarded at night by soldiers. Those who carried the body from the vessel to the town, received a gratuity of half a jacobus, and those who performed the vigil, each night, one pistole.

It being the desire of his old comrades in arms, and other friends, that he should be buried with military honours due to so brave and respected a commander, the governor ordered out his own *corps d'élite*, the Irish company, and as many of the garrison as could be spared from duty, the whole amounting to upwards of 200 men.

Everything being prepared to render the ceremony solemn and imposing, on Saturday, the 3d of October, the funeral procession escorted the body, from where it lay in state, to its last resting-place, the Temple of St. Helier's. First came five drummers, with muffled drums, beating a slow march; then the musketeers, provided with three rounds of ammunition, and slow-match burning,—their arms reversed in token of mourning; and after them marched the pikemen, trailing their pikes. In the rear of the escort was borne the bier, covered with a pall of black cloth, which was supported by a number of knights and gentlemen: Sir Abraham Shipman, Colonels Dwyer and Slingsby, and others. The two lords, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the governor, followed as chief mourners. A body of mounted cavaliers came next, then a long train of gentry on foot, and persons of lower degree.

Minute-guns were fired from the ramparts of Elizabeth Castle, and re-echoed by the militia artillery, as the mournful procession moved on at a slow pace from the constable's house to the church. It being market-day, and the town thronged to excess, crowds of spectators were assembled to witness a ceremony more imposing than any that had taken place within the memory of the oldest inhabitant. At the entrance of the church, the pulpit and other parts of which were hung with black

cloth, the Rev. Lionel Gatford met the procession, and performed the accustomed service over the remains of his deceased friend, long his companion in hardship and privation. When the body was deposited in the sepulchre, the musketeers stationed in the cemetery fired three consecutive volleys, according to military custom; and at the conclusion of the burial service, Mr. Gatford ascended the pulpit, and preached the funeral sermon, with great emphasis and feeling.

Such was the order of the ceremonies observed at the obsequies of Sir Henry Killigrew,—a valiant gentleman, on whom the honour of knighthood had been conferred by his sovereign on the field of battle, as a reward for his gallant services. Before the commencement of the troubles, he was in possession of a good estate in Cornwall, from which he derived an income of between 700 or 800*l.* sterling per annum; but of this he had been deprived by the parliament, who appropriated the revenues to the payment of their troops. At the period of his death he was not more than fifty years of age. Sir Henry's body was deposited in a vault in the church of St. Helier's, adjoining that occupied by the remains of Maximilian Norys.[1]

With the fall of Pendennis, and the interment of

[1] Maximilian, fourth son of William Lord Norris, was an expert military engineer, slain, about the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century, in Brittany, which accounts for his finding sepulture in Jersey. The following note, in another hand, is appended to Chevalier's manuscript: "Le tombeau de Maximilien Norys etoit sous la gallerie des Marchands, ou il fut retrouvé en 1794. Il etoit fils de Mylorde Norys de Ryecote, proche Oxford. Les Comtes d'Abingdon descendent de Mylord Norys."

Sir Harry Killigrew, our intercourse with the west of England terminates for the present. But before we follow the footsteps of the prince in France, it will be desirable to dispose of his highness's secretary, Richard Fanshawe, "whose employment ceased when his master went out of his father's kingdom;" not that he sided with either party of the council, but, having no inclination at that time to go to court, he had resolved to reside for some time in Jersey.

He had come thither in the prince's train, accompanied by his wife, who was *enceinte*, and his wife's sister, "belle jeune demoiselle à la fleur de son age, mais en age de marier," not the less so from being reputed to be worth 2,000*l.* sterling. This blooming young lady was, no doubt, the "sister Margaret" of Lady Fanshawe's Memoirs, who afterwards "married a worthy, pious man, Sir Richard Turner, of Southstock, in Lincolnshire." The Fanshawe family, "quartered at a widow's house in the market-place, Madame de Pommes, a stocking-merchant," where Mrs. Fanshawe was delivered of her second child, a daughter, christened Anne.[1] Her husband accompanied the prince as far as Cotainville, where, after seeing him safely landed, he kissed hands, and returned to Jersey. Here he remained, not, as the lady says, fifteen days, but upwards of two months. Taking leave of the governor's family on the 19th of September, Mr. Fanshawe, his lady, her sister and a maid, took their departure for France, leaving the infant daughter

[1] The annotator to Lady Fanshawe's memoirs is clearly right in assigning the birth of this daughter to June, probably the 7th. It is not usual for ladies to forget their landmarks:—Madame la Duchesse d'Abrantes is much more particular in this respect.

Anne with a wet-nurse, under the care of Lady Carteret.[1] In four days they reached Caen, on a visit to their brother, Sir Thomas, afterwards Lord Fanshawe, who was "desperately sick." Here they remained for nearly a twelvemonth, when they returned to England, and from thence proceeded to Jersey, to re-claim their infant daughter.

Among the unpublished Clarendon papers, there is a document, which we subjoin in a note,[2] endorsed, in Sir Edward Hyde's hand, "Mr. Fanshawe's accounte left heare by Dicke Fanshawe when he went away 1646."

[1] Hyde insinuates that Lady Carteret at this time was in an interesting situation, "My lady grumbles that she cannot yet groan: would you desire better sympathy?" The two ladies, however, who were like sisters in Jersey, fell out, when they met in London, after the Restoration; merely because Lady Carteret spoke in behalf of the French.—Pepys' Diary.

[2] "Due to me, upon my entertainment, when his highness was in Jersey, which by virtue of his highness' order there, bearing date the 20th of May 1646, I was authorised to pay myself out of such moneys of his highness' as should come to my hands, as followeth viz

Due to me	
I was unpaid at his highness' coming out of Cornwall, as appears by Captain Cottles certificate here annexed from the 4 of December 1645. So that from that time to the 25th of June 1646, being the day his highness went into France, there was due to me upon my said entertainment £150 . 15 sterling which is . . .	Livres 2010 . 0 . 0
My receipts towards the satisfaction of which arrears have been	
Received, from my brother Sir Thomas Fanshawe upon his Guernsey account 733 livres; more, upon the same account 400*l.*; more upon the same 431 . 16. In all 1594. 16*l.*, out of which I have paid by order to the Earl of Brentford 133[1] . 6[ss]. Remains to myself .	1460 . 0 . 0
Out of the Prince's money which was lent to his highness by the gentlemen of Jersey	548 . 14 . 0
Total . . .	2008 . 14 . 0

Your lordships may please to observe that, before either I or my

In the same collection we meet also with a letter written by the Prince, before he left Jersey, in behalf of his late secretary, then out of employ:—

"The Prince of Wales to the Lord Marquess of Ormond.

"My lord, June 23d 1846.

"How the affayres stand heare my lord Digby will fully informe you, which I hope will fully satisfy you of the greate valew, and estimation I have of your greate — (illegible.) I shall therefore only make a request to you on behalfe of a person (not unknown to your lordshipp) who hath served me with greate affection, and is, in himselfe, of extraordinary integrity, and partes fitt for any trust, Mr. Fanshawe, that if your lordshipp can find any opportunity to imploy him, you will upon my recommendation receave him into your particular favour. He was appointed by my father (before he came to my service) to be his Resident with the Kinge of Spayne, and stands still qualified for that imployment, and whether the parsinge (*sic*) may be of use to the kingdome of Ireland, or whether your lordshipp shall dispose him to any other service, I shall referr wholly to you, who I hope will look upon him as a man in particular care of

"Your Lordshipp's very affectionate Frende."

brother, who received not his account from the Merchant at St Malo till very lately, knew what surplusage would be due thereupon, I paid, by his highness' order, much greater sums to the use of Castle Cornet out of moneys which were liable by his highness' forementioned order, to the payment of my arrears, as by the account certified to his highness at St Germains by your lordships may appear. And that there is yet due to me upon the said account, certified, 401*l.*, as also that I paid myself the said 401*l.*, merely to enable myself to supply what was wanting in moneys brought out of France—

Ric Fanshawe."

Leaving the two banished lords[1] and the chancellor in Jersey,—the two former to amuse themselves in their chambers of a morning, or ride abroad as they thought fit, and the latter to betake himself to the compilation of his History; all three to assemble at prayers in the town-church at eleven o'clock, afterwards to dine together at Lord Hopton's lodgings, and in the evening to walk on the sands with the governor, discussing, among other matters, Lord Jermyn's suspected design of giving up the island to the French,—we must cross the channel, and again inquire what has been going on of late in Paris and its environs. Arrived at Cotainville, and pursuing the route we suppose Prince Charles to have taken, we meet with no traces of him in any of the towns he must necessarily have passed through.

Notwithstanding the fair promises made to his mother by the Crown of France; notwithstanding the greatest possible assurances that could be given, of her son's being afforded "all freedom and assistance upon his landing in any part of the kingdom, and of his meeting with the most honourable reception from them,"

[1] We find the following in Chevalier's MS: "On the 26th of September a messenger arrived in Jersey bringing lord Capel a supply of money from his wife, who was owner of considerable estates, in her own right in the north of England; she had hitherto supplied his lordship with whatever money he required for his expenditure, sometimes transmitting it through Holland, sometimes through France. On this occasion, however, the usual remittance was accompanied by the unwelcome intelligence that the rebels had not only sequestrated her ladyship's property, but her husband's also—merely allowing her and her numerous family, for she had many children, barely sufficient for their maintenance." We elsewhere learn, that on the death of the Earl of Essex (Sept. 14), to whom Lord Capel's estate had been granted, the property was again placed at the disposal of the committee of sequestration; and we further find it ordered on the 25th of the same month, "that the estates of the lord Capel, lord Cottington and some others should be sold, to raise money for Ireland."—Whitelocke, p. 227.

no sort of notice was taken of him when he came there, and no preparations were made to facilitate his progress towards the capital. Thus thrown on his resources, without carriage or horses of his own, and none provided for him, it may well be imagined that some difficulty and delay must have attended the conveyance of his numerous train. Nevertheless, there is every reason to believe that, within ten days after his quitting Jersey, he reached St. Germain's. Prince Rupert found him there with his mother on the 19th of July, and it is probable that he arrived some days earlier.[1]

Whatever maternal delight Henrietta Maria may have derived from embracing a son from whom she had been so long separated, her happiness could hardly be complete until she had presented him to his royal relatives of France: for as Madame de Motteville sentimentalizes: "La joie ne se goûte pas entièrement, si elle ne se partage avec ses amis."

But young Charles's royal relatives sent him no special invitation; whilst his mother herself threw an obstacle in the way of his reception at court, by stipulating, *in limine*, that, as his father, when Prince of Wales, in suing for the hand of the Infanta, had been allowed to take the *pas* of the king of Spain, her son had a right to take precedence of the French monarch. Anne of Austria opposed the pretentious claim, alleging that the privilege had been conceded to Charles the First as king of Scotland, not as Prince of Wales.

[1] De Larrey, in his Histoire de France, on the authority of Wicquefort's MSS. asserts that on the 20th of July, the Prince of Wales then with his mother at St. Germain's, was making preparations for going to Fontainebleau, where the French court resided. It must be remarked that the French adopted the New Style early, and it is therefore probable that for July 20th we may be allowed to read July the 10th, Old Style.

The request gave rise to numerous portentous questions, long debated: "how the king (of France) should treat him? and how he should behave himself towards the king? Whether he should take the place of Monsieur, the king's brother (an infant)? and what kind of ceremonies should be observed between the Prince of Wales and his uncle the Duke of Orleans?—and many other such particulars; in all which they were resolved to give the law themselves. It would have been fitter to have adjusted all this in Jersey, before the Prince put himself in their power, than to raise disputes afterwards in the court of France, from which there could be then no appeal."

These discussions were fomented, if not suggested, by the cardinal, whose policy it was publicly to discountenance the Prince, after alluring him to France, so as to persuade "the parliament of England, and the officers of the army, whom he feared more than the parliament," that his highness had come thither of his own accord, without the wish of the French government, and, in truth, against their will. He however assured them that no assistance should be afforded him to interfere in their internal politics; "and it was believed by those that stood at no great distance from affairs, that the cardinal then laid the foundation for that friendship which was shortly after built up between him and Cromwell, by promising that they should receive less inconvenience by the Prince's remaining in France, than if he were in any other part of Europe."

It was not, however, until the middle of August, that negotiations were brought to a final issue, and that an interview was permitted between the royal cousins. On the 14th of the month, Lord Culpepper writes to Hyde: "the Prince goeth this week to Fontainebleau for four

or five days:" and, on the 28th, Charles Murray informs him that his highness has been there. The passage in his letter is too spirited not to deserve transcription:—

"Mr. Charles Murray to Sir Edward Hyde.

"SIR, "St. Germains, 28th August.

* * * * * *

"The Prince hath been at Fontainebleau, and, truly, received as civilly, and with as much respect as could be; being met two leagues on the way by the king and queen Regent; and they all delighted, and saluting, were taken into the Queen regent's coach, the Prince sitting on the right hand of the same side of the coach with the king. Though we are not to be restored by ceremonies, yet these civilities are better than neglects; and I should be glad that our affairs would come to a happy issue without having further obligation to them. Truly, the Prince has behaved himself in the journey so handsomely, that he has gotten the love of all that have seen him, both men and women. Yet though his entertainment has been noble and kind there, I do not find any thing offered, either by present, or addition to the Queen's exhibition, for his subsistence; but that is nothing to me. But, if we be not so, I am glad to find you are both happy and contented where you are. I promise you, if I were with you, I should be so too. And yet I have a mad kind of humour, that keeps me alive and merry in every place where I come. You know I made shift at Scilly; and therefore I cannot want either meat or a mistress in France.

* * * * *

"CHAR MURRAY."[1]

[1] State Papers, vol. ii. p. 255.

The long-delayed presentation took place immediately after the French court had received intelligence of the fall of Mardyke, which surrendered to the Duke of Orleans on the 24th of August. We are, therefore, justified in fixing upon the 26th or 27th, a day or two before Charles Murray writes, as the date on which the Prince of Wales first met his aunt and cousins. A very vivid description of the scene and the actors who figured therein might be composed, without much aid from the imagination, by selecting and combining materials from the pages of contemporary writers, which furnish the following matter of fact details.

About two years before our narrative commences "the sumptuous palace of the king's at Fontainebleau, like ours at Hampton Court," stood not far from a forest, "prodigiously encompassed with hideous rocks of whitish hard stone, heaped one on another in mountainous heights,—the like nowhere to be found more horrid and solitary;" giving shelter to lurking rogues, as well as wolves, and boars, and lynxes,—the bipeds frequently assaulting, and the quadrupeds devouring, the unprotected traveller.[1]

One of the glades of this terrible, but picturesque forest, about two leagues from the palace, presents a very different aspect one sunny afternoon in the autumn of 1646; and is tenanted by a different order of beings from those above described. Along the route from Fontainebleau a string of gaudy equipages, filled with richly-dressed courtiers, attended by a brilliant retinue of horsemen and running footmen, is seen advancing at a stately pace. Another file of carriages, less gorgeous but equally cumbrous, with a

[1] Evelyn's Diary, vol. i. p. 57.

cavalcade less numerous, approaches in the opposite direction, from St. Germain's. The coaches stop when they reach the rendezvous, and their inmates simultaneously alight. Ann of Austria, and Henrietta Maria of England (erst of France), come forward to meet each other, and exchange sisterly courtesies. The latter personage presents the Prince of Wales to his cousin, young Louis Quatorze, the future *grand monarque*. She next presents him to his aunt, the Queen Regent, who embraces him with all but maternal tenderness, tempered by royal dignity. Her majesty of France then introduces her newly recognised nephew to his female cousins, and he salutes Madame la Princesse, and La Grande Mademoiselle; the latter of whom tells the tale. "No point of honour due to the illustrious rank of both parties was forgotten, and nothing omitted that could testify the close ties of consanguinity by which each was united," chimes in Madame de Motteville, an eye-witness of all that took place.

The first greetings over, the Queen of England and her son enter the carriage of the Queen of France, as had been previously agreed upon; and the united cavalcades proceed onwards in the direction of the palace of Fontainebleau. Arriving there in due time, Louis Quatorze assists his royal aunt in alighting, whilst the Prince of Wales performs the like service for the relict of his mother's brother; the family party then proceed straightway to the apartments destined to the Queen of England; and after so much fatigue, bodily and mental, the royal hosts and their royal guests retire for the night.

The next morning the Prince of Wales pays a duty visit to his aunt, who condescendingly causes a *fauteuil*

to be placed for him. He is ensconced therein when his mother enters the presence; and seeing her in danger of being consigned to the indignity of a joint-stool (*un siège pliant*), he resigns his seat of honour in her favour, and takes his stand amid the circle of assembled courtiers. Little Louis le Grand is ushered in soon after, invites his princely cousin to take an airing with him in the park or the forest; and they prepare for departure, when the king, in assertion of his rights, and in obedience to instructions, struts out before his companion: all *en règle*, all in accordance with strict etiquette. The prince, however, has already received compensation, having earlier in the day paid a visit to his majesty, who caused him to be presented with a *fauteuil*, alongside his own; besought him to remain covered; and, on taking leave, conducted him in person to the door of the apartment, with all the grace imaginable. It is somewhat doubtful whether Charles' propensity for drollery permitted him to be impressed with a due sense of the high honour intended him by these punctilious formalities; he is much more likely to have laughed in his sleeve as he sat beside a little mannikin, overwhelmed with feathers and ribbons, doing majestic dignity in a huge arm chair. The *fauteuil*, however, was never again placed in requisition, and thenceforth, whenever the royal cousins appeared together in public, they either occupied ordinary seats, or stood in the circle among the rest.

During his highness's three days' stay at Fontainebleau, the greatest attention was paid him in order to render his sojourn there agreeable. His mornings were occupied in visiting the ladies of the court, or in the enjoyment of the chase, and in the evening he participated in

all the amusements "the most charming residence in the world afforded;" including entertainments in the apartments of the queen and the princesses.

His mother having at length succeeded in introducing him to Mademoiselle de Montpensier, lost no time in endeavouring to persuade the princess of her choice that he was desperately enamoured of her—that her name was ever on his lips—that it required all a mother's influence to restrain him from intruding upon her privacy at all hours of the day, in order to urge his suit,—and that he was in despair lest she should be induced to espouse the recently widowed Emperor of Germany. Henrietta Maria had long projected uniting her son to the richest and most independent heiress in Europe; her design was no secret in Paris, and even the committee of both kingdoms had early been apprised, by their political agent, of the queen's "vehement desire to have him here in France, in hopes of bringing to pass the marriage of him and Mademoiselle, notwithstanding all former unkindnesses betwixt her and Monsieur."[1]

The haughty, but beautiful object of these hopes, whose education from early childhood had been directed to the formation of matrimonial projects; and who had been taught to speculate successively on an alliance with the young King of France, with the Infant of Spain, with the Count de Soissons, with the Emperor of Germany—no matter which; tells us, in her own ingenuous memoirs, all she thinks (*feeling* being out of the question) of her new suitor, the Prince of Wales. She admits, and so does Madame de Motteville, that he was tall for his age, had a well-formed head, adorned with a profusion of dark brown hair, set off to advantage by the dark

[1] N. N.'s Letter, Paris, June 1 (May 22), 1646. Cary's Memorials.

hue of his complexion, and the brilliancy of his expressive eyes; it is true that his mouth was large, nay, positively ugly, his figure, however, was good, and his carriage graceful; but, to counterbalance all, he had one terrible, one unredeemable defect—he could neither understand, nor could he give utterance to one single word of French!

"I listened," continues the self-possessed Princess, "with all proper deference to my aunt's propositions, and was at no loss to comprehend their meaning, but I attached much less faith to her assertions than she appeared to expect. During a short visit I subsequently paid to Paris, similar proposals were urged by my friends Madame and Mademoiselle D'Epernon. They had received great kindness, when in England, from the queen, for which they were grateful, and being very intimate with her, adopted her views in regard to her son and me. But I paid no more attention to what they said in behalf of the Prince of Wales, than I had done to my aunt's declarations at Fontainebleau. Had he spoken for himself there is no knowing what might have been the result, but this I do know, that I was little inclined to listen to proposals in favour of a man who could not say anything for himself." Here ends the first act of this singular courtship by proxy; as little of an *affaire de cœur* on either side as can well be imagined.

The queen regent and her court continued for some time longer at Fontainebleau, giving audience to foreign princes and ambassadors; entertaining the young nobility who had returned from the wars, and solacing them for the hardships they had endured before Mardyke, with plays, music and dancing. But such pleasures were not intended for poor relations, however illustrious; who

therefore were allowed to return, after their three days' grace, to the comparative solitude of St. Germain's, "a stately country-house of the king's, some five leagues from Paris." Here the Prince of Wales, some time in September, was honoured by a visit from his uncle, the Duke of Orleans, "but could not however receive him, being a-bed," and so when the prince, during the ensuing winter, "returned the visit, in Paris, at the Luxembourg, the said duke kept his bed, and did not admit him, excusing himself upon his gout."

Prince Charles's condition was but a sorry one, from the beginning to the end of his first sojourn in France: he gained little advantage, perhaps the contrary, by the exchange from Jersey to St. Germain's. In the former place, although governed by his council, he was treated with much consideration, and enjoyed, at least, the semblance of authority; in the latter he was exposed to neglect, little short of contumely, by his royal relatives, and was kept in a state of subjection, little befitting his age or station, by an impulsive manœuvring mother. Her majesty, not very compliant in general with her husband's wishes, durst not venture, in the present instance, to disobey his positive and reiterated injunctions relative to interference on "the subject of his religion;"[1] she however made herself amends, by exerting, to the utmost limit, over her son the temporal power with which she was invested.

[1] The queen's endeavour to convert the Duke of Gloucester; the persecution to which she subjected him to; her indignation against the Duke of York for protecting his young brother, and remonstrating with her, demonstrate what she was capable of on occasion; and how vexatious must have been the restraint under which she laboured with respect to her eldest son. Her conduct tells but little in favour of the tender affection she professed to bear her children.

He was never permitted, although in his seventeenth year, to enter her presence with his hat on; never admitted to take part in any public business, beyond the signature of whatever document she placed before him; and never informed of the unhappy condition of the royal family. Although an allowance was added by the court of France to the Queen's monthly pension of twelve thousand crowns, for the better support of his highness, she, wishing it to be believed that he was wholly dependent upon her, received and distributed it as she thought fit, pretending, that "it would not consist with the dignity of the Prince of Wales to be a pensioner on the king of France." Consequently, whatever clothes or other necessaries he required were selected for him, and he was never allowed to be "master of ten pistoles to dispose as he desired."

My Lord Jermyn, who governed the queen's receipts, as we are told, took monstrous good care of himself, but doled out the money with a very sparing hand to his highness's friends and servants,[1] all of whom, including the Prince, were constrained to solicit his aid, without which they could obtain nothing. In

[1] Towards others, however, more liberality existed, as we learn by means of a short note in cipher from Sir Edw. Nicholas, to Sir Edward Hyde: "I hear that the Queen hath lately made a marriage between two of her French servants, which, it is said, hath cost her two thousand pistoles; for she gave a bed, and furniture for a chamber, and six suits of cloathes to the bride, besides plate, and other presents. I hear she hath received all or most of her money, but pays not her servants. Keep this to yourself." Hyde replies, "I heard before of the great wedding at Paris; the French seem much kinder to the English than they have been (very possibly upon the former project,) and the Queen and Prince have received all moneys due, yet all the servants are in the same want, and no money acknowledged to be received. I hear my Lord Jermyn hath received some hard messages from the English who want money."—State Papers, vol. ii. pp. 344, 346.

consequence of this parsimony, numbers of the exiled English nobility and gentry, unable to support establishments in the French capital, were driven to take up their abode in cheap remote provincial towns, such as "Caen, Rouen, and the like." There could doubtless be no objection to this arrangement on the part of the queen and her chief officer, who considered Wilmot, Byron and Piercy, as well as the French, "who were as familiar with him as could well be imagined," less dangerous counsellors for the Prince than Cottington, Nicholas, Capel, Hopton and Hyde.

The estrangement of these sage grave men from St. Germain's furnishes us with a correspondence at once useful and instructive: proving that none of the assurances given with so much "civility and cheerfulness" by the French king and queen, the Duke of Orleans and Cardinal Mazarin, had been redeemed by them; that none of the hopes of assistance and mediation held out in favour of the King of England, had resulted from Prince Charles's presence in France; and that the queen, who was neither in a position to insist on the fulfilment of these promises, nor in a condition to resent their non-fulfilment, had nothing better to do than to carry out her matrimonial scheme. An opportunity soon offered for renewing her son's intercourse with his attractive cousin.

The fine season being passed, and the autumn closing in, the French court, without awaiting the termination of the campaign against the Spaniards, removed from Fontainebleau to the Palais Royal, on the 9th of October, the Louvre being under repair, and not yet habitable. In a few days came the important announcement of the surrender of Dunkirk to the Duke

D'Enghien. Early in November, the hero of Rocroi and Fribourg returned to Paris covered with fresh laurels, and attended by the *élite* of the young noblesse; who, having flocked to his standard, and contributed to his recent glory, now participated in his triumph. The future hero, Condé, and his brilliant staff crowded the audience chambers, and eclipsing the Duke of Orleans and his officers, *les Importants*, as the latter were called, acquired the designation of *les petits maîtres*. The whole kingdom was filled with rejoicing at the successes attending the progress of the French arms. The Court was in mourning, it is true, for the death of the Queen Regent's nephew, the Prince of Spain; but, as the two countries were at war, few indications of sadness were visible beyond the outward garb of woe; dramatic performances taking place as usual at the palace, and the gaieties of the capital experiencing no sort of interruption. Fête succeeded fête at the hotels of the nobility, and the Prince of Wales, assisting at all these entertainments, devoted his attentions exclusively to Mademoiselle.

That Princess, with great complacency, relates that, at the Palais Royal, he always placed himself beside her during the play; whenever she went to visit his mother, he was invariably in attendance to hand her to her coach, and remained uncovered, whatever the weather might be, until he had taken leave; in short, no mark of deference, not the slightest, was omitted on his part. She nevertheless confesses that his assiduities, far from convincing her of the tender sentiments attributed to him, only reminded her of her absent friends, the d'Epernons, who had so warmly advocated his cause.

The petted beauty, habituated to receive the greatest

adulation from infancy, and accepting it as a matter of course, saw clearly enough that Charles merely acted a part imposed upon him by his mother, and that he was no more in love with her, than she with him. Neither was Henrietta Maria in ignorance of the real state of affairs; she, therefore, in order to ensure success, instructed her son assiduously in the elements of gallantry; and he appears to have studied with much docility an art in which he afterwards became so eminent an adept. She also took every opportunity of throwing the cousins as much as possible together, hoping that one or the other, or both, might thaw. Nothing could be more admirably conceived than the idea of securing her son's attendance, whilst she superintended the toilette of her elegant niece, preparatory to the ball at Madame de Choisy's.

La Grande Mademoiselle, three years, to a day, older than the Prince of Wales, had not yet accomplished her nineteenth year. Sitting down deliberately before her mirror with writing materials beside her, as French ladies of that period were wont to do when they sketched their own portraits, she dashes off a pen-and-ink-sketch, in which she describes herself as altogether good looking: rather tall, of an elegant figure, and graceful carriage; her foot neat and pretty, her hands and arms not quite perfect, but exceedingly fair, as well as her neck and shoulders. Auburn hair, *d'un beau cendré*, encompasses her handsome oval face; her aquiline nose,—the Bourbon nose—was somewhat *prononcé*, it must be confessed, but redeemed by coral lips, and a mouth expressive and agreeable, displaying when she smiles, not absolutely a row of pearls, but yet a set of teeth far from unsightly. Brilliant

blue eyes, alternately soft and haughty, but not fierce in their expression, evince her character and bearing, which is lofty but affable: more calculated to inspire respect than to encourage unbecoming familiarity in those whom she addresses.

The above sketch, taken from the mirror, literally, held up to nature, gives us some idea of the danger Prince Charles is exposed to, as, at his mother's bidding, he assists in adorning this combination of charms. His badge of office, as page in waiting, is a small tricolour favour, white, black and carnation,—colours which match the plumes and ribbons requiring adjustment. Taper in hand, he hovers around the person of his beauteous cousin, concentrating rays of light now on one attractive focus, now on another, during the process of decoration; appealed to, perchance, for his opinion, blamed for his *gaucherie*, or lauded for his dexterity.

At the close of this singular scene, the fully attired princess is ushered from her boudoir, into the private presence of the queen regent, who, well aware of her royal sister-in-law's taste in the arrangement of costume, is desirous of passing final judgment on the result. The time thus occupied affords the Prince of Wales an opportunity of preceding his cousin to the hotel de Choisy; she finds him there on her arrival; he assists her in alighting; again attends upon her with his flambeau, as she casts a last long inquiring glance at her attire, in the mirror of the ante-chamber.

He makes his *entrée* with her into the ball-room, haunting her footsteps like a shadow; they are joined after a time by Prince Rupert, who performs the office of interpreter between the cousins, and assures the lady

that Charles, although he dare not venture to express himself in French, understands every syllable her highness deigns to utter; she is soothed by the implied compliment, although not quite convinced of its truth, and the business of the evening takes its course.

The assembly at length breaks up; Mademoiselle returns to the Palais Royal, where her *cavalier servente* awaits her coming, posted as usual at the door of her coach; hurried salutations are exchanged, she vanishes from his sight into the sacred privacy of her apartments; and he seeks his mother before retiring to rest, to impart to her the result of her instructions. Having heard and duly considered his recital of the events of the night, she thenceforth cherishes the idea that, *château qui parle, et femme qui écoute,* may be placed in the same category.

The amusements of the court, and in a great measure those of the capital, were brought to an untimely close after Christmas day, by the death of the old Prince de Condé, the Duke d'Enghien's father. We cannot do better, therefore, than leave Paris, and retrace our steps to Jersey.

We left the three friends, Capel, Hopton and Hyde, in the month of September, discoursing with Sir George Carteret on Lord Jermyn's supposed design of selling the Channel Islands to the French. As a preliminary to such a bargain, it must be obvious that it was previously necessary to obtain possession of Guernsey; but the king having no longer a fleet nor a disposable army, it could not be attempted without the employment of foreign troops, in aid of whatever forces might be afforded by Jersey, and the garrison of Castle Cornet. Any measure short of a *coup de main,* could only

prove unavailing; for, the parliament would protect it against a regular attack; well aware that, if the royalists, already in possession of Jersey and Castle Cornet, became masters of Guernsey as well, they would establish a formidable stronghold in the channel, destructive of the commerce of England. And a much larger armament would be required to retake it than the rebels, in the spring of 1646, were in a position to fit out, without weakening themselves, perhaps fatally, in other quarters.

The idea of reducing Guernsey appears to have originated soon after the Prince of Wales quitted Pendennis for Scilly. On the 18th of March, John Osborne, writing from St. Maloes, informs his father that he came thither, "with my Lord Culpepper, and Mr. Long, the Prince his secretary, who went both to Paris on Sunday last. My Lord said at going, that the principal part of his business should be to advise with my Lord Jermyn of a speedy means to reduce Guernsey."[1] About the same time Sir Thomas Fanshawe was sent over to the islands, with directions from his highness to consult Sir Peter Osborne, and Sir George Carteret, as to the feasibility of the design, and the best means of putting it in practice. To this conference we are indebted for the rough draft of a document evidently written at this period, and, no doubt, transmitted to Lord Jermyn.

"Sir Peter Osborn's thought how the reduction of the Island of Guernsey might be accomplished.[2]

"The number of men required for the reducing of this Island, and to secure it reduced, can be no

[1] Osborne Papers. [2] Ibid.

fewer than eight hundred men, furnished with able officers, expert pylots, and good land guides;—no considerable partie lyke to appeare for the king, if any do, it wilbe feare that brings them in, rather than love. Let not this number be thought too greate, since the busines is not with the islanders alone, but backt with the parliament of Engl., that will not loose theire footing they have gotten heere.

"The best place for landing is, in my opinion, the shore under the windmill of the Vale, somewhat to the right hand of the hougue called Boulevert de La Père. It lyes between the towne, and the Castle of the Vale. But it is a shore full of rocks, and will not admit ships to come neere, insomuch that all must be done with Shalupes. For the guard of this place, there is onely one piece that lyes upon it to impeach a landing.

"The tyme can not be prescribed, but must be referred to honest and good pylots, if such may be found; the wyndes, and especially the tydes, that runne strongly heere, being in that matter of chiefe consideration.

"But the event of this attempt being uncertayne, least all be hassarded at once, the principall thing requisite to be first done is to have this Castle well and plentifully supplyed in all kindes for a twelvemonth, and to put in threescore men for the increase of the guarison,[1] and to give oportunity for the releife and refreshing of those that have languished under the miseries of so long a siege; that so this important fort may be sure to be kept safe for his Majesti till another essay, in case the first attempt fayle.

"That a considerable and sufficient sum be made

[1] Consisting of about threescore already.

over hether for the payment of the souldiers that have not receaved one penie of pay these three yeares; of which they grow now dispayrefull, and to encourage the fresh men that may be put in, as lyke wyse to hyre boates, and reward such as bring provisions, and for other services.

"Now, in answer to your lordship's further demands, I conceave that, from the castle may be given but small assistance to the reducing of the island, it chiefly serving to command the rode and the entrance into the piere, and made now uncapable to lodge more than threscore souldiers, or to hold provisions for the sustentation of so many men as may be thought meete by saly to surprise the towne, the lowe water not allowing more for the attempt and the retreate, than two hours, and not alwayse so much.

"The action would be wholly committed to English, both for commanders and souldiers. The islanders never lyke to submit to the French; it being also dangerous to do it by that nation that pretend a clayme, and therefore to be suspected they will not yield up their conquest, but keepe what they get. And the naturall animosity betweene the islanders of Guernsey and Jersey is so well knowne, that I believe it would make those, that might els yield, more obstinate to resist to the uttermost any of Jersey that shall endeavour to reduce them. For I knowe one[1] who hath suffered for the king's cause, and whose hart is his, hath solemnly protested that his hart is against those of Jersey, that, if they should attempt it, he would returne to Guernsey, to joyne and dy with his countrimen in theyre resistance."

[1] Amias Andros.

Lord Jermyn's approval of the intended attack upon Guernsey is rendered unquestionable by the following extract of a letter written by him from St. Germain's, on the 8th of May, to Lord Culpepper, under the impression that he might be in Jersey:—

"I wonder I receave noe directions yet from you concerning Gernsey; pray doe me the favor to be very carefull nocthing be donne concerning the composition with Sir Peter Osborn, or dissigning any other body to his place till I be advised with; and though I be not usefull to many things, yet I can say I am soe farre to that whiche shall concearn either the releif of the Castle, or reduction of the iland; that I may with some justice expect that which now I propose to you, and should have some cause to complayn of my frends, if, in this particular they should forget me."[1]

Jermyn appears to have entertained a personal regard for Sir Peter Osborne, as we infer, not alone from the foregoing allusion to him, but from the tenor of the correspondence, contained in the Osborne collection. He seldom neglected his applications for relief during his government of Castle Cornet, and even after he quitted it, never refused, at his entreaty, to send supplies to his successor, Sir Baldwin Wake. He was not, however, so cordial towards Sir George Carteret, and, although governor-in-chief of Jersey, took but little interest in the welfare of that island.

The attempt upon Guernsey seems to have expanded, after a time, into a more comprehensive scheme. About the end of September, Hyde and his colleagues received,

[1] Clarendon MSS.

as he himself tells us, "several advertisements out of France, of a design to give this island (Jersey) to the French;[1] particularly from a worthy lady[2] who was lately at St. Germain's, that she was told by some of the ladies about the Queen, that this island was to be delivered up to the French for a good sum of money, with which their wants should be relieved. Then from a very discreet and knowing gentleman, now resident at Paris, that he hath received the same information, by several gentlemen conversant in the secrets of the Court, and that the Lord Jermyn was to have 200,000 Pistoles, for the delivery, and that he was to buy Aubigny from the owners for 50,000 Pistoles; and that Mr. Cooly, secretary to the Lord Jermyn, asked a gentleman how he thought the Islanders would like it, if there should be an overture of giving it up to the French.

"On Friday last one of us received a letter in cipher from a person of known reputation, that he heard from very good hands, that the lord Jermyn was to be made a duke of France, and to receive 200,000 Pistoles,

[1] A similar idea had been entertained with respect to Guernsey, as we learn from a letter from John Osborne to his father, dated Falmouth, Feb. 26th, 1645:—"Before my coming, there was a proposition made to the king to engage the Island to the French for a sum of money. Whereupon my brother Henry told the king, if he consented to such a thing, it was just you should be paid for the losses you had sustained. But the king told him he did not consent to the proposition. Since my coming it hath been proposed to the king, that the French do offer themselves to reduce the island, and ask nothing till the work was done, and their officers were to be nominated by the queen. When I had shown the dangerous consequence, and the unjustness of it, it was agreed to. These things I am glad I can let you know, for they were carried as if you was nothing concerned in it."—Osborne Papers.

[2] Most likely the Lady Elizabeth Thynne, to whom we find a copy of a letter from Hyde, acknowledging the reception of one from her ladyship, at St. Germain's.—Clarendon MSS.

for which he was to deliver up the two Islands of Jersey and Guernsey. And yesterday one of us received another letter from a very honest gentleman conversant in the Court there, in which he mentioned two other letters formerly sent by him, with the same advertisements (neither of which are come to us); which were that he understood from sure hands, that the Lord Jermyn was to be made a Duke, to have 200,000 Pistoles for the delivery of these two islands, and that the design was that 2000 French were to be levied for the king of England's service,[1] under a pretence of reducing the island of Guernsey, under the command of my lord Jermyn; who under that colour should be able to seize upon both islands; that the design was so forward, that ships were hiring by the Cardinal for the transportation of the men. Lastly, a gentleman, who is a known creature of my Lord Jermyn's, coming lately from Paris told us that the design of the French was visibly to make the king of England their tributary, and to assist him no farther than served their greatness."[2]

The "creature of Lord Jermyn's," above mentioned, is no other than ex-royal commissioner Henry Janson, who quitted Jersey for France on the 24th of July.[3]

[1] The same report was more tardily announced to the Parliament by letters from Newcastle, "That two thousand men were to be shipped from Holland, French and English, for England, under the Duke of Lorraine, to be General, and Prince Rupert to be Lieutenant General, to assist the King. That this is procured by the French Ambassador now with his Majesty, and that he hindered the surrender of Dublin to the Parliament's Commissioners."—Whitelocke, Dec. 14th, 1646.

[2] State Papers, vol. ii. p. 279.

[3] "My service to Mr. Nicolls, to whom I sent a packet by Dr. Jonson."—Hyde's letter to Sir Richard Browne, dated Jersey, 14th August, 1646.

Chevalier states that he returned to the island on the 16th of October, coming from the prince's court at St. Germain's, by way of St. Maloes. Whether he was sent over by the prince with letters for the lords remaining in Jersey; whether he had been sent for by Sir George Carteret, or came for his own pleasure to an island where he had received much attention, and preserved much authority,—is uncertain, continues Chevalier;[1] at all events he remained here until the 23d of December following, and then returned to St. Maloes, from whence he went to join his father, Sir Bryan Janson, in Spain.

Dr. Janson is, beyond a doubt, the Dr. Johnson alluded to in the following extract from a document, the original of which is in Lord Clarendon's hand.

"Minutes of a discourse of Dr. Johnson with Sir Edward Hyde:[2]—

"This morning about 9 of the clock walking before my door upon the stones, Dr. Johnson[3] who came into the island last night out of France, came to me; and after some salutations told me, that my lord Jermyn bad him remember his services very kindly to me; but the

[1] It is much to be lamented, adds an annotator to the Chronicle (in 1772), that Mr. Chevalier did not ascertain the purport of this visit, as it might have enabled the candid and truthful journalist to throw some light on the intrigues which led to the articles of association for the defence of Jersey, drawn up and signed by the lords, three days after Janson's arrival.

[2] State Papers, vol. ii. p. 276.

[3] Hyde spells the name Jonson, in the original; but in the State Papers an *h* is added, converting it into Johnson. The real name nevertheless is Janson, as we ascertain from his own autograph in the Osborne MSS. All this confusion will be understood by referring to Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. ii. p. 762.

truth is he said nothing of the lords, between whom and him, he said, he thought there was some misunderstanding.* * * * Then, Sir Abr. Shipman, and Will Hinton coming by, I left the D^r. with them, and went to my chamber.

"Jersey, 16th Oct. old style, 1646."

Although no direct confirmation of the report was gained from Janson, "The concurrent informations of several persons,[1] all strangers each to other, together with the Lord Jermyn's total neglect of the island in not sending provisions according to his promise, and not repaying the sums of money freely lent to the prince

[1] The subjoined letters, one from the Osborne Papers, the other from the Clarendon MSS., prove that the rumour was current elsewhere:—

"John Osborne, Esq. to Sir Peter Osborne.

"Rouen, 19th (October,) 1646.

"SIR,

"Since my last letter, I have changed my resolution of coming so speedily to you, and I trust in God it will be for the best. It is secretly whispered here, but it is publicly talked of in Paris, that both the islands are to be delivered to the French, and my lord Jermyn is to be made duke and peer of France. This intelligence I know from a very good friend of yours and mine. Now Dunkirk is taken, if they should have the islands, they would be masters of the channel from East to West, and there would be nothing wanting for an invasion, which they already promise themselves. These consideration do enforce me to take a step to Paris, being I am nigh, not that I will discover any knowledge of it, but only to inform myself of the truth, which is so probable that I am only troubled to seek out a remedy. For certainly besides what it will be to the public, no greater misfortune can happen to you or yours; on the one side you will be sure to be blamed, on the other scorned. But God is above all, whom I humbly beseech to advise and direct you in such an important business. Sir, something must speedily be done, for they will lose no time. I have a good opinion that Sir Baldwin, if advertized, will never do so shameful an act,—but he may be surprized. * * *

"JOHN OSBORNE."

"The

by the islanders," induced Hyde and his colleagues to consult with Sir George Carteret, as to the best means to be taken for ascertaining the truth of the rumour, and for averting, as much as possible, the threatened evil. "The prince, before quitting Jersey, had enjoined them to confer with the lieutenant-governor on all cases of emergency, and it was pleasant to behold," says Chevalier, "the cordiality which existed between them all."

They considered that the delivery of the islands into the possession of the French, was not consistent with the duty and fidelity of Englishmen; that it would prove most pernicious and fatal to the king and his posterity, an irrecoverable blemish to his cause, and a justification of all those scandals formerly imputed to the king and queen; that it would be a perpetual dishonour to the crown, and an irreparable damage to the English nation; for if the French, having Dunkirk already in their hands, became possessed of the islands as well, they would become absolute masters of the channel: "the greatest

"The Earl of Berkshire to Sir Edward Hyde.

"The Hague in Holland, this 27th Oct. S. M.

"MR. CHANCELLOR,

"I receaved your letter by which I understoode that you and the rest of my lords are still at Jersey, which is contrary to a report which was spread heere, that you weere removed from thence, which was the cause that I did not write unto you till nowe. * * * * I am very confident that the two islands where you are, are very farr from severing themselves from their obedience to the English nation, though such reports (I hope out of malice) are spread abroade; and I know it cannot be as long as there are soe many Cartwrittes in Jarsey, besides the generall assertion of the islanders that have lived soe many hundred yeeres under so easie a government. * * * And now I pray you to remember my service to my noble lords, that are with you, and the worthy governor, and his excellent lady; ever resting your servant, &c.

"For Mr. Chancellor or any of
the lords at Jersey."

road of trade in the world;" would be enabled to seize upon other valuable ports and islands, and thus "supplant England of the empire and sovereignty of the seas, which, next to God, hath been the principal support of the ancient fame, and wealth, and strength of our nation, which no successes at home, how glorious soever, could ever repair."

Articles of association were accordingly entered into between the lords Capel and Hopton, Sir Edward Hyde and Sir George Carteret, for the defence of Jersey; "and since this poor island cannot defend itself against the power of France, and the forces of the parliament of England," they unanimously agreed upon the following resolutions:—

1. That lord Capel, whose private affairs called him immediately into Holland, should visit St. Germain's on his way, and, under pretence of paying his duty to the Queen and Prince, endeavour to gain accurate intelligence as to what was in contemplation. That he should in private discourse apprise his highness of the reports in circulation, and if he found him cognizant of the design, represent to him the vast evils certain to accrue therefrom; "that so his princely innocence may be preserved, and he be without the blame, though he cannot be without the loss, of what may happen." If his lordship found the affair determined on, and ripe for execution, under the plea of pursuing his journey to Holland, he was to return forthwith to Jersey, that it might be considered what was to be done; but if the project was not matured, he was to seek his original destination, leaving some trusty person at St. Germain's to watch proceedings and communicate the result to him.

2. It was agreed that whenever the design seemed

"ready and ripe for execution, Sir George Carteret should give information thereof to the Earl of Northumberland, or some other person of honour, with a declaration that he, having been entrusted with the custody of the island, by his majesty, was resolved never to give it up to any foreign power." Lest this declaration, however, should be construed into an overture on his part to the anti-royalists, a saving clause was inserted stating, that if the parliament deemed Jersey worth preserving, and would countenance or assist him in defending it without compromising his loyalty, he had little doubt of being able to maintain the island and the castles until, after a good understanding between his majesty and all his subjects, the same might be disposed otherwise; and in the meantime no prejudice or act of hostility should be exercised against his majesty's (rebel) subjects of England.

3. It was determined that, should Lord Capel, during his residence in Holland, learn from his Paris correspondents that the design was still proceeding, he was to warn the Dutch of the danger they might themselves incur from the islands falling into the hands of the French, and to solicit aid from the former. He was then to proceed with all despatch into England, for the purpose of raising forces for the defence of Jersey, and for transporting them thither.

4. It was agreed that all in their power should be done to preserve Castle Cornet, to the best of their skill, as soon as the affair became urgent.

5. It being possible that in managing and ordering this great work the associates might be separated the one from the other, four draughts of these resolutions were drawn up and subscribed, and each person fur-

nished with a copy, containing the grounds and rules whereby he should steer himself. It was, nevertheless, decided that the articles of association were to be kept strictly private, only to be divulged with the consent of the majority.

These articles were signed, sealed, and delivered at Jersey on the 19th of October, by the four contracting parties. The two lords and the chancellor, however, considering that Sir George and his friends might be constrained to make advances of money, in the event of being assailed by the French, and deeming it unjust as well as dishonourable that "a person of so extraordinary merit towards the crown and nation of England, and his family, should be ruined and impoverished for doing so unspeakable a service for the kingdom," Capel, Hopton, and Hyde voluntarily signed an engagement on the 24th of October, binding themselves to repay him out of their estates (should it please God to restore them) three parts of any expenses he might incur in the joint cause.

The articles of association appear never to have been "divulged" until their publication in the "State Papers;" no allusion whatever is made of the transaction in Clarendon's history, in his autography, or in his numerous letters, with the exception of the following passage, wherein he tells Lord Cottington: "ten days since (December 1646), my lord Jermyn took notice before much company of the report of these islands; and said, he believed the French had never such a thought; but if they had, he hoped his friends had a better opinion of him, than to believe, that upon any grounds or pretences whatsoever he could be made an instrument in so infamous a piece of villany."

Notwithstanding this equivocal denial it is impossible to persuade oneself that the concurrent testimony of so many individuals, unconnected with each other, should have been utterly without foundation. It is much more probable that the idea of bartering the islands had been entertained, to say the least; but, having been prematurely divulged, was speedily relinquished and disclaimed, partly in consequence of the knowledge that "Carteret would give the French a very sour welcome,"[1] as Hyde tells Cottington; partly owing to the difficulties attending the necessary capture of Guernsey, in the first instance. Jermyn could not have been ignorant that, before he could dispose of the latter island, he must wrest it from the tenacious grasp of the parliamentarians: otherwise, to adopt a phrase of Montreuil's, the offer would have been "*comme le marché qu'on feroit de la peau de l'ours, qui ne seroit encore tué.*"

Chevalier, who knew nothing about the association, says that Lord Capel left Jersey on the 26th of October, in company with Sir Abraham Shipman and other refugees from Pendennis. After passing through Paris for the purpose of taking leave of the Prince of Wales, and the Queen his mother, it was his lordship's intention to proceed to Holland, from whence he could more conveniently correspond with his lady, and receive from her intelligence as to the state of his family affairs, and of the course of events in England. His estates, which

[1] There is a tradition in the Carteret family, that when Sir George sought refuge in France, after the parliamentary conquest of Jersey in 1651, Cardinal Mazarin had him confined for a short time in the Bastille; in consequence, it is said, of his opposing the design of delivering the island to the French.—Durell's Notes to Falle, p. 307.

had formerly yielded a revenue of upwards of three hundred and eighty thousand livres[1] per annum, had recently been seized upon by the rebels. He lived very prudently, and kept up little or no state during his residence in Jersey; his whole train consisting only of a groom of the chambers, and two other attendants,—a slender retinue truly for a nobleman originally so well off. But his means had been much curtailed since the troubles, in consequence of the aid he had afforded his royal master, whom he thought it was the bounden duty of every loyal subject to honour, by the express commands of the Almighty. His Lordship was very much esteemed, as well by his companions in exile, as by the islanders, for his sober, discreet carriage, and civil behaviour to all men; he was less ostentatious than any of his friends, and more humble in his bearing than the meanest of his followers.

Our Jerseyman's spontaneous tribute to the worth of this exemplary nobleman coincides with the opinion entertained of him by his contemporaries, which may be summed up in the following sentence from the pen of Lord Clarendon,—"Lord Capel had many friends, and could not be conceived to have any enemies."

Hopton, Hyde, Sir Edward Stawell, Will Hinton, Auditor Kinsman, the Rev. Richard Watson, and Lionel Gatford, and some others, still remained behind, living happily together in Jersey. They were soon after joined by Cadwallader Jones, formerly farmer of his Majesty's customs, otherwise, "chief customer of the west," who came to submit his accounts for inspection, to the chancellor of the exchequer.

Leaving the exiles in Jersey for the present, we shall

[1] = 1,600*l.* sterling.

proceed to inquire into the affairs of Castle Cornet, which place of late had been but scantily victualled; and that, entirely at the expense of Lords Capel, Hopton, and Sir George Carteret. From the Prince of Wales it had received no supplies since his departure from Jersey.

Sir Peter Osborne, then at St. Maloes, writing to his Highness, represents to him the sad condition of the fortress, and begs to bring to his remembrance "the fair hopes given Sir Baldwin Wake, of plentiful and continual relief, which induced him and his company cheerfully to go thither. Little expecting that any occasion might remove his Highness so far from giving them, from time to time, such succour as their wants were still like to require;[1] and little doubting that on his Highness's removal some order would have been left for their support." This being yet unperformed, and the nearest places to relieve them (St. Maloes and Jersey) remaining without orders, or money to furnish their supply, it

[1] The Prince does not appear to have been more mindful of Sir Peter's own private wants, as appears from the following letter:—

"The Prince of Wales to Sir Peter Osborne.

"Charles P.

"Trustie and wellbeloved wee greet you well. We have received your desires by your sonne; and we are not unmindfull what promise was made you for your subsistence, upon yr remove out of Castle Cornet by our desire, which wee are still resolved to comply withall, though ye present condition of or affaires bee such that wee are not yet able to doe it. But wee hope to bee better enabled within the space of six weekes, or thereabouts, and then you shall not fayle to heare from us in this particular. In the meane tyme wee assure you that wee have that esteeme of your loyaltie and courage, allready exprest in ye service of or Royall father the King, and of yr respect to us, that wee shall not fayle, when it shall please God to restore us to a better condition, to remember it upon all occasions for your advantage, and to lett you see by more reall effects, the good opinion wee have of yu and of yr meritts. Given att St. Germain en Laye, the 25 day of October 1646."—Osborne Papers.

was not to be wondered at if the soldiers and seamen became impatient, although nothing had been omitted to preserve them in obedience.

"Yet hath Sir Baldwin Wake been forced," he continues, "in prevention of mischief, to have recourse to sharp remedies, for a combination was discovered of some that had intention to have run away to the enemy with his boat and provisions; and the author of it, as he well deserved, hath been shot to death; which I write the rather that your Highness may understand to what pass things are come already, in this little time; much like to grow worse, and into further extremes, unless present consideration be taken for victualling, and clothing of the poor soldiers there, that are naked, winter now coming on, yet doing hard duties; and, having received since your Highness went, but one small shallop, are reduced (as I am credibly informed), to bread and water."[1]

Relative to the affair of the soldier above-mentioned, we give particulars from Chevalier, which shows that the garrison of Castle Cornet had gained little by an exchange of governors; Sir Baldwin being quite as choleric, and somewhat more of a martinet, than his predecessor.

An English soldier weary of his condition, and anxious to desert to the enemy, attempted to induce a prisoner under his charge to join him; telling him that if he would assist in stealing a boat, shortly expected with provisions from Jersey, he would set him free, and they might both make their escape in her to Guernsey. The prisoner, however, disclosed the plot to the governor, who ordered him to be released, and the soldier to be incarcerated in his stead. The traitor, as he is called,

[1] Osborne Papers.

being put to the torture, confessed his design; whereupon Sir Baldwin had him tried by a court-martial, which condemned him to be shot, as an example to the rest, and to strike the garrison with terror. Three musketeers were selected to execute the sentence; one an Englishman, the second a Jerseyman, and the third a Guernseyman. They fired upon the culprit at the distance of about a perch, and the three balls taking effect, he fell dead upon the spot.

Wake learned by this time to seek for sympathy from Osborne; and, like him, to cast blame unjustly on Sir George Carteret. "I very well perceive," he writes to Osborne, "how the cart is drawn, and that the same engines are acting now as was heretofore, though a little more secret and cunning. I sent my servant to Jersey in the last boat, who is returned with three hogsheads of wheat, and one of poor-john, which is all the provisions in this Castle. Sir George Cartewrite told my servant that he washed his hands of the Castle, and if the Castle be lost to-morrow, careth not. 'Let every tub stand on his own bottom,' saith he. He will answer for himself, and I for myself."

The following letter, from the State Papers, evidently refers to Wake's demands, and his petulant complaints against the Governor of Jersey:—

"Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Baldwin Wake.[1]

"Honest Baldwyn,

"I have received yours of the 3rd of December, and wish with all my heart it were in my power to be useful to you, in the supply of your Castle. I am sure,

[1] State Papers, vol. ii. p. 311.

neither my lord Hopton or I have left anything undone that we could reasonably think might advance the work, having scarce omitted one week to write to St. Germain's of the necessity of it; and we have been lately informed from thence, that order is taken in it, but which way I know not. We that are left here, as sojourners in any other part of the world, can only endeavour to do all civil offices, by the governor's friendship, when we find occasion. And I must needs say, I have always found him ready to do more than most men so provoked would be. Indeed the carriage of most of those men that came from the Castle has been such, as would not have rendered them acceptable in any place where they had come. Whilst I had the honour to be in any public business, I always thought myself personally obliged to those who assisted me, in my master's service; though their obligations of duty were equal to mine, and though it may be they did not perform half so much, as their duty required. And can you imagine it possible that such persons can be very civilly treated, who, coming to a place, from whence they expect courtesies, lay imputations of treachery and infidelity upon those, from whom they expect those offices; and indeed (upon the matter) upon a whole nation. Truly if I should unadvisedly say half that one of those men have usually said at their being here, I should not think it safe for me to stay in the island twenty-four hours.

"I know not from whence the ill usage hath been which you complain of; and therefore know not what answer to give to it. It is true I do take you to be very cholerick (as many of my best friends are); but it is not your choler that I apprehend now, but the object upon which your choler may work, which is misin-

formation, which may corrupt the best judgement, and understanding. And truly, I believe the mistakes and misapprehensions of other men, have begotten some opinions in you, which if you were as well informed as some of your friends are, would not appear reasonable to you.

"If you will write freely and clearly to me what sticks with you, I will endeavonr to give you the best satisfaction I can, and will without partiality impute errors to whom they are due. But then I shall not think it enough, to complain of any unkindness or neglect without considering what provocation drew on that unkindness, and if I shall find it possible that such temper and understanding may be begotten, that may be able to do any service, I shall make myself very happy, otherwise I shall sit still, and wish well, but meddle not. For that which concerns a solid relief of the Castle, with such provision and supply, as may give new courage to our men, you can expect it from nobody but the Prince: and therefore, I would advise you to find some way of sending a clear information to him of your condition, and what he must expect from you; if you have no better way of conveying it I will send any letter thither that you send to me. This is all I can say to you of the business. I am very heartily

"*Honest Baldwyn,*

"Jersey, the 12th of Dec. 1646." &c."

In the meantime Lord Jermyn, in reply to an application from Sir Peter Osborne, informs him that, although he is neither ignorant of the necessities of Castle Cornet, nor of its importance, the moneys necessary for its relief are not to be obtained by any solici-

tation of his; and, moreover, he has so wasted his own credit, that he can get no advance. He therefore requests Sir Peter to endeavour to raise 300 pistoles among his friends, for the purchase of provisions to be sent without delay to Wake, and promises repayment as soon as he "touches the money."

Sir Peter, ever zealous for the preservation of the fortress which he has so gallantly defended, and in which for three long years he has endured so much hardship, did contrive to get an advance of the sum required; and forthwith purchased provisions and other supplies to the value of 300 pistoles, which he despatched by a French boat from St. Maloes. The boat, having the faithful old porter of the Castle, now nearly eighty years of age, on board as supercargo, touched at Jersey on the 2d of December: but the French skipper, apprehensive of being taken by the Guernseymen, delayed his departure until the 12th. Re-assured by the safe return of a boat, containing stores and men, sent over by Sir George Carteret, he set sail and reached Castle Cornet in safety. Instead, however, of anchoring off the sally-port on the eastern face of the works, out of reach of the enemies' shot, he moored his craft under the principal gate, within range of the guns from the mainland. The cargo was nevertheless landed, but the Guernseymen failed not to open a fire on so inviting an object, and their balls did so much damage to the hull of the shallop, that she was forced to be hauled up, high and dry, on the castle beach, under shelter of the rocks, for repair.

Sir Baldwin, to avenge the insult, brought forty pieces of ordnance to bear upon the offending town of St. Peter Port, and cannonaded it with the more energy from

having been reinforced by men from Pendennis, and some of Lord Digby's Irish. . His garrison now amounted to about ninety men (the full complement), and was victualled for the winter, by the provisions sent over by the Jersey governor, in addition to those recently landed from the French boat; he was in high spirits in consequence, and his men ripe for mischief. The Guernseymen replied fiercely, and cannon-shot flew as thick as hail between the town and the Castle; much damage was done to dwelling-houses on both sides, but there was no loss of life on either. The Parliament ships anchored off the bank took no part in the affray, which lasted, with short intervals, for a day or two, during which time the cannonading was so vehement that the roar and smoke were heard and seen at Jersey.

The fight over, and the shallop repaired, the old porter caused her to be laden with effects left behind by himself and Sir Peter; consisting of clothes, linen, furniture, and other articles contained in huge coffers, so heavy that it required six men to carry each on board. He then re-embarked, and, quitting Castle Cornet, rejoined his master at St. Maloes.[1]

[1] The old porter gave but a sorry account of Sir Baldwin Wake, as we learn from the subjoined letter, written some months subsequent to his visit to Castle Cornet:—

"Sir Edward Hyde to the Lord Culpepper.*

"April 14th, 1647.

"My dear Lord,

"Without any spirit of activity, or medling in other men's matters, I cannot chuse but inform you of whatsoever I think it necessary for you to know; and though I could heartily wish it might come to you by some other hands, I should be troubled, if, through any tenderness of mine, it should be concealed from you, and inconvenience come, thereby, to the public.

"When Sir Peter last sent a boat to Guernsey, the old Porter whom

* Clarendon MSS.

The dreary month December being well set in, and the parliamentary squadrons supposed to be safe in port for the winter, Sir George Carteret employed the interval in making his dispositions against whatever might occur when spring returned, and longer days and smoother waters rendered his position more readily assailable. In the first place he sold off the perishable stock in his magazines, which he replenished with fresh store of corn, salted beef and pork, poor-john, peas, and biscuit; together with wine, beer, and

he sent with it, at his return hither (though he said nothing of it to me), informed my Lord Hopton that he thought Baldwyn Wake, by some distemper and indisposition of body, had contracted a distemper of brain; and that, albeit, he found and left him, reasonable well, yet it had broken out so far that, for some days his soldiers had been compelled to shut him up in his chamber. This lord Hopton told me a day or two after, and we concluded that the fellow, being gone to Sir Peter, that he would find some opportunity to inform the Prince of it; at least, if upon full information, he found there might be any danger to the place, from any such indisposition. Since that, the governor (Carteret) having upon my lord Jermyn's letter, lately sent a boat thither with some clothes and other provisions, and received this enclosed from Baldwyn Wake, by which you will see in what temper his men are, and the truth is, no seaman will ever endure, long, that kind of life. The man, that conducted the provisions thither, seems to be an intelligent and observing fellow tells me that, though there had been great charge given to the soldiers not to speak of the Governor's indisposition, yet he plainly discerned his recovery was not so perfect as it is insisted.

"Now if, after all the care taken for provisions, any misfortune should befal the place, through his infirmities, the accident would be the more lamentable. It is very true, the province is not so pleasant that it will be easy to procure a man of great name to enter upon it, yet, truly, it is only fit for a sober and discreet, and healthy person; and such a one, methinks, (especially if there were any door opened for the reduction of the Island, (Guernsey) at winter,) might be procured. And, if it were possible, the men should be sometimes shifted, both for ease and other reasons. This is all I shall now trouble you with, hoping that in this you will pardon the zeal of &c.

"EDW. HYDE."

cider; partly the produce of the confiscated estates, partly imported from St. Maloes.

He next turned his attention to the manufacturing, commercial, and agricultural interests, of his government, neither of which branches were as flourishing as formerly. The guild of stocking-merchants complained that, owing to deterioration in the quality of knitted fabrics, the demand from foreign parts had considerably diminished; few traders now resorted to their market; and those who did come either offered prices the reverse of remunerative, or declined purchasing altogether; alleging, that the articles offered for sale were much inferior in texture to those previously manufactured in the place.

Hearing this, he assembled the States, who appointed a committee of stocking-brokers in each parish to examine into the affair; and they soon discovered that the articles were in reality, as had been represented, smaller in size, and the meshes much looser than they were wont to be. The knitters satisfactorily, or rather unsatisfactorily, attributed these circumstances to the scarcity and dearness of wool, the price of which had of late risen to forty-five sous per pound, so that they could no longer afford to employ as much raw material as usual in each piece, and had therefore been obliged to increase the guage of their needles. It was likewise ascertained that the exclusive employment of the peasantry—men, women, and children—in knitting, tended to the neglect of agricultural pursuits, and the encouragement of laziness. The culture of corn and flax having been nearly abandoned, bread had risen in consequence; and linen, instead of being manufactured from flax of home growth, had to be imported at a high rate, and that thus much poverty existed.

Sir George, the mouth-piece of the States, on receiving the reports of the parish commissioners, ordered, that in future worsted stockings should not be less than three-quarters of an English yard in length; that these, as well as drawers, frocks, and other articles of apparel, should be knitted with finer needles; and that all fabrics, not coming up to the prescribed standard, should be confiscated if offered for sale. It was likewise ordered, that each peasant proprietor, according to his means, and the extent of his estate, should cultivate a certain specified proportion of land with corn and flax, so as to restore the balance between consumption and production.

This was all very well as regarded flax and corn, but legislative enactments could not increase the naturally limited sheep-pasturage of Jersey; wool was not to be obtained from France; and the Parliament not only prohibited its exportation from England, but their cruisers watched the harbours of Ireland so closely, that no vessel, laden with the staple commodity, could show its hull in the channel without imminent danger of being captured.

Sir Edward Hyde, fully alive to the distressed condition of the islanders, and much interested in their prosperity, wrote thus to the Marquis of Ormond (Sept. 26th): "I presumed a fortnight since to address an humble suit to your Lordship on behalf of this island, that they may receive by your favour such a supply of wool, for the supporting the manufactures here, as they heretofore enjoyed from England." In the exculpatory letter intended to be sent to the King by Colonel Collins on the 21st of November he also says: "Your majesty will easily believe every loss you have sustained in England, hath increased the difficulties of preserving this place,

it depending and subsisting so absolutely by the trade of wool from thence, with which the manufacture of stockings is supported. And, therefore, if by your Majesty's command any expedient might be found for supplying of wool from the north of England, it would be a sure way to compose all fears and apprehensions here; and a little encouragement from thence would quickly reduce the island of Guernsey, the Castle being still in your Majesty's obedience."

This letter, it is true, never reached its destination; but it proves that Hyde had the inclination, if not the ability, to assist a people by whom he was treated with great respect and hospitality. His solicitude for their welfare extended to spiritual, as well as temporal concerns, as the letter[1] which we subjoin in a note, from the Clarendon manuscripts, shows.

[1] "Sir Edward Hyde to the Bishop of Londonderry.

"Jersey Island, the 19 Dec. S. V. 1646.

"My very good Lord,

"Though I have not the honour to be enough known to your Lordship, yet I know you will be very willing to give credit to any man who can assure you that, our gracious master has yet one island left not only in perfect obedience to his majesty, but in full submission and reverence to the doctrine and episcopal government of the Church of England, and where the liturgy is universally used; all this I do assure your lordship of this excellent island of Jersey. For the continuance and improvement of which temper, Sir George Carteret, who has been very fortunately entrusted with the government of this people, looks upon the choice of the clergy as the best expedient; and that none may be admitted to a charge but such as have received orders according to the discipline of the Church of England.

"And this caution in these times, has kept a church or two void for want of a minister, because they knew not whither to resort for ordination. But hearing that your lordship is now in France, though removed from Paris, and upon a journey out of that kingdom, (where if you had staid, this recommendation would have come to your lordship from my lord Jermyn,) Sir George Carteret has desired me to give his testimony

"Nous parlerons ici," says Chevalier, "comment milord Somerset passa par Jersey, venant d'Angleterre, pour aller en Brétagne, à Saint Malo, et de là à Paris." "Mi-lord," he continues, was second son of the Marquis of Worcester, whom he had assisted in maintaining a strong fortress for the king, called Ragland Castle, somewhere between Cornwall and Wales. The castle, after a long and obstinate defence, being forced to surrender for want of provisions, Lord Somerset made his way to Dartmouth, where he embarked on board a French craft, intending to go direct to St. Maloes, whither he had previously sent all his baggage and greater part of his clothes. But, encountering bad weather during the voyage, he was constrained to put in at Jersey, and on the 14th of December landed at St. Aubin's, with six attendants.

Sir George Carteret, in a day or two, hearing that his lordship was lodging in the town of St. Aubin's, waited upon him, and urged him to take up his abode in Eliza-

of the bearer hereof, Mr. Cooter (Le Couteur*), that himself has had some care of his education, and known him to be honest, and thinks him to be very fit for the charge of a church here, which he has designed him to. And therefore he desires your lordship to vouchsafe to lay your hands on him, that, being ordained by you he may be qualified to do the church of God service.

"This I was very willing to do as being agreeable to my duty to the king, and my respect to your lordship, who is the only Bishop, I think, in a condition at present to do God and his Majesty this service. God in his good time will, I doubt not, restore them to the liberty of their holy functions, and your lordship to the possession of those rights and honours your great virtue has merited, which blessed time none more desires to see than,

"EDW. HYDE."

* Clement le Couteur, expelled from Jersey with Drs. John Durel and Dan. Brevint, when the island was taken by the Parliament in 1651. Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 731; Fasti, p. 131.

beth Castle, an invitation which he accepted. Here he was visited by Lord Hopton and Sir Edward Hyde; and on the 19th came to St. Helier's to return their visit, remaining with them in discourse from three to four hours. He then went back to the Castle, where he continued to reside until the 22d, and then took his departure for St. Maloes, with the intention of proceeding to the Prince's court at St. Germain's.

Lord Somerset was a man of small stature, about thirty years of age, and unmarried; although in general well informed, he was badly instructed in religious matters, having been brought up as a Papist. He held high rank, however, in the royal army, in which his elder brother[1] was a general, then serving in Ireland.

Nothing of moment, beyond the fitting-out of privateers, occurred to the end of December. We shall therefore wind up this chapter, and bring the year 1646 to a close, with the following extract; which may be useful, as it relates to persons connected with subsequent details:—

"Lord Cottington to Sir Peter Osborne.[2]

"Rouen, December 26th, 1646.

"SIR,

"That which I can collect out of all the advertisements that come from England, is, that no man can make any judgement of the success of the king's affairs, and yet, methinks, a very few days more should tell what we are to trust to. The Lord Keeper Lane, the Lord Hatton, the Lord Chief Justice Heath, the Attorney (General)

[1] This elder brother was Earl of Glamorgan, afterwards Marquis of Worcester, the celebrated author of the Century of Inventions, &c.

[2] Osborne Papers.

Herbert, Sir Thomas Glenham, and many others, are newly landed at Calais and Dieppe, so, as I perceive, they suffer no excepted person to stay in the kingdom.

"I have here taken a little house in the suburbs of this town, where I live, not without much disturbance, for it seems that the name of Cottington sounds ill in the ears of this people. Therefore, when the winter is over, I believe I shall seek some other habitation, for in Paris there is little care had of me. And thus having told you all my ailments, as to my old friend, I rest, &c.

"COTTINGTON."

CHAPTER II.

THE KING — MAZARIN ADVISES HIS GOING TO JERSEY — ITALIAN OPERA IN PARIS — PRINCE CHARLES AND MADEMOISELLE — CHANNEL ISLANDS THREATENED BY THE PARLIAMENTARIANS — HYDE'S LETTERS ON THE SUBJECT — RESIDES IN ELIZABETH CASTLE — LORD HOPTON LEAVES JERSEY — CARTERET'S PRIVATEERS — CAPTURE OF A TRANSPORT — DESPATCHES OF PRINCE CHARLES — HE SENDS OVER AN ENGINEER — WARWICK'S SUMMONS FOR CARTERET TO SURRENDER — HIS REPLY — AN ENEMY'S SQUADRON REPULSED — THE 29TH OF MAY — FORT CHARLES INAUGURATED — JERSEY MINT, A BUBBLE — SUSPENSION OF PRIVATEERING, BY THE KING — HYDE'S REMONSTRANCES — PRINCE CHARLES SANCTIONS THE ISSUE OF LETTERS OF MARQUE — SEA FIGHTS — PARALLEL BETWEEN PRINCE RUPERT AND SIR GEORGE CARTERET — ROYALISTS IN JERSEY — "NEWS OF THE TIMES."

EARLY in January, 1647, the King, still at Newcastle, but on the eve of being delivered up to the Parliament, receives the following advice from the Queen, transmitted through Jermyn and Culpepper, at the suggestion of Mazarin:—"The suffering yourselfe to be made a prisoner is a thing not so much as to be thought on. If the Scots forsake you, and the parliament suffer you not to come to London in safety, the thing to be done is, in the first place, to goe with the Scots into Scotland, if you may be permitted. If you be refused, then you have Irland, the Highlands and Jersey, to make your choice of, according to your owen wisdome, and the conjuncture of affairs. As for going out of your dominions, it is not to be done, but in an event that leaves your Majesty no other choice." To this somewhat dictatorial message, his Majesty replies in a most hopeless and helpless tone: "Well I thought you had

relyed on France's declaring for me if I were a prisoner. Well, I am mistaken; but are you not so too, by saying I may go to the Highlands, if the Scots refuse me to go into Scotland? For besydes the impossibility of goeing thither, I should there be infallibly lost; and as for Ireland and Jersey, thoug I will not say they are impossible, yet certainly they are strange journies in respect of escaping from hence."[1]

The unfortunate King has some suspicion that the Scots will deliver him up to the English, but little imagines that Major-General Skippon is already on his march with the purchase-money, enclosed "in bags of 100*l.* and chests of 1000*l.*" Neither does Hyde suspect that there is any question of his Majesty's coming to Jersey. He entertains a better opinion of the Scots, and, the very day on which the King dates his letter, writes thus from his island home to "honest" Joseph Jane: "Though I can give no other evidence that the King's affairs are not desperate (as they are conceived at Paris) but my own guesses, yet I assure you I do not think the worse of them for the dejection you observe there. For my part nothing is more demonstrable to me than that the Scots' will desert the King, except he deserts himself. * * * Neither do I apprehend the King's journey to Holmby at all, there being those things first to be agreed upon, by the very vote, which are as difficult (that is, as unlike to be consented to between the parties) as any of the propositions."[2] The Royalists were always sanguine. The Queen of England, shutting her eyes to her husband's real condition, and as reliant on the Scots as ever, followed up

[1] State Papers, ii. 312—330. Clarendon MSS.

her scheme of mating her son with the heiress of Montpensier. The Cardinal, well aware of the nefarious negotiation between the English and the Scotch, had no intention of interfering between the parliament and their royal prey; and the French court were intent upon nothing but enjoying the frivolous amusements which, owing to one cause and another, had of late been somewhat interrupted.

In the first place, the queen regent had long been in what was called mourning; and in the next, the curate of St. Germain's, a man of severe piety, whilst the court was at Fontainebleau the preceding autumn, had addressed a letter to her, (a species of *histrio-mastix*,) in which he denounced stage plays in general, and Italian comedies in particular. This being a subject of deep interest, her French majesty consulted many of the bishops, who gave it as their opinion, that dramas founded on historical events, far from being injurious to religion or morality, had a contrary tendency, by diverting the idle courtiers, and preventing them from having recourse to amusements of a less innocent nature; the learned divines furthermore declared that the duties of royalty were peculiar; and that kings, queens, and princes, being public personages, were bound to patronise public entertainments, provided they contained no allusion inimical to church or state.

Italian pieces, therefore, masking gross buffoonery under grave historical titles, continued to be performed at the Palais Royal, alternately with French comedies, under the sanction of high ecclesiastical authority. The courtiers assembled every evening in *la petite salle des comédies*, whilst Anne of Austria witnessed the per-

formances *incognita*, from a secluded gallery, communicating by a back stair with her private apartments. She was invariably accompanied by the young King and the Cardinal, as well as by those whom she deigned to honour with special command, including the Prince of Wales. "We," says Madame de Motteville, "received such marks of gracious condescension with much satisfaction; for those who have the privilege of enjoying familiar intercourse with royalty, must always look upon such trifles as matters of importance, seeing that they are thus considered by the commonalty."

Deep mourning for the late Prince of Condé being over, *la grande salle de spectacle* at the palace was again thrown open; balls and French plays alternated with Italian operettas, and the queen regent, quitting her private box, re-appeared in public. The William Prynne of the French court, however, finding that his censorship was set at nought, armed himself with a denunciation signed by seven doctors of the Sorbonne, and obtaining an audience of the queen, represented to her that she was guilty of mortal sin in countenancing such profane doings. Her majesty, offended, but not disconcerted, and aware probably of the proverbial disagreement between doctors, despatched the Abbé de Beaumont, preceptor to the young king, to confer with other learned divines of the Sorbonne; twelve of whom gave verdict in favour of dramatic performances under easy restrictions, and the queen's conscience was thereby set at ease.

The courtiers, however, clamorous against the seven non-conforming Sorbonists, and the over-officious *Curé*, sought to overwhelm the latter with their sarcasms, or

endeavoured to ruin him by asserting that he was a tool in the hands of le Père Vincent, a pious man, but Mazarin's determined enemy. The business of pleasure, however, proceeded without interruption. Prince Charles resumed his place beside Mademoiselle at every entertainment; and, in obedience to his mother's prompting, paid such desperate court to her the whole winter, that his assiduities became the general theme of conversation in the fashionable circles of the French capital.

On the 9th of February, the public betrothal of Mademoiselle de Themines, and the Marquis de Cœuvre, was signed and celebrated at the Louvre. The queen of England was present at the ceremony, and being requested to sign first, declined, with much affected assumption of humility, to take precedence of the royal family of France, but after some pressing, usual on such occasions, she consented. Then followed in succession the signatures of Louis XIV. and his mother, the Prince of Wales, and Gaston, Duke of Orleans,—Monsieur still, by courtesy: the real *bonâ fide* Monsieur, the Duke d'Anjou, being too young to execute so arduous a feat of penmanship.

Cardinal Mazarin, who introduced the Italian drama from his native country some time before, had succeeded in giving the French a taste for this novel style of performance, in which music, dancing, and shifting scenery were combined. The opera ballet, first represented on the stage of the Palais Cardinal, was *La Folle supposée,* the original type of our "Belles' Stratagem," —the *libretto* composed by Giulio Strozzi, the ballet arranged by Giovanni Batista Balbi, and the decorations,

machinery and scenery, devised and directed by Giacomo Torelli.

This, and other pieces of the same kind, had been frequently repeated at the palace; but, towards the end of the carnival in 1647, Mazarin determined to regale the court with a magnificent entertainment, of which an opera was to form part; to be produced on a scale of grandeur far surpassing anything of the kind hitherto witnessed. The *corps dramatique*, and artists of all descriptions, were sent for from Rome; and Saturday, the 2d of March, was fixed upon for the representation. This, however, being the eve of Shrove Sunday, and, interfering with the queen regent's devotional exercises, she besought the Cardinal to postpone the performance until the following evening, which he very unceremoniously refused. Somewhat disconcerted by her favourite minister's discourtesy, but still unwilling to offend him, or mortify her own curiosity by not attending, she compromised between conscience and inclination by withdrawing at midnight in the midst of the opera, and retiring to her closet. Her majesty's exemplary conduct was rewarded: the spectacle being repeated on the Sunday evening; when she, having fulfilled the duties imposed upon her by the rules of the Romish church, was free to indulge her passion for theatricals, and her regard for Mazarin, by witnessing the whole of the performance.

On Monday evening, the 4th of March, a grand masque was given in the saloon, one extremity of which was occupied by a stage, capable of being removed or replaced at pleasure by means of machinery. The finest thing that could be imagined: the wings being formed

of richly gilded panels, and the flats, of movable pictures painted in perspective, representing scenes from heathen mythology, and old stories of chivalry and romance. Seats and cushions were placed in niches all around, without apparent aid from human hands; and at the back of the stage a dais, elevated on three steps, was furnished with a chair of state and cushions; surmounted by a canopy of cloth of gold and silver, trimmed with fringes and tassels of the same rich material. The whole saloon, brilliantly illuminated by four huge crystal chandeliers, produced a magical effect when viewed from the lower end of the saloon, which was arranged as an amphitheatre, fitted up with seats and cushions, and occupied by the courtly spectators assembled to witness the dancing on the stage.[1]

La Grande Mademoiselle, whom Anne of Austria had insisted on attiring with her own hands, was resplendent with all the jewels of the royal family of France, to which Henrietta Maria added the few exquisite gems still remaining unbartered in her casket. Three whole days had been spent in preparing the robe of the young

[1] A similar pageant is thus described by Evelyn, who witnessed it in March, 1651: "In the Palais Cardinal, where the master of the ceremonies placed me to see the royal masque, or opera. The first scene represented a chariot of singers of the rarest voices that could be procured, representing Cornaro and Temperance; this was overthrown by Bacchus and his revellers; the rest consisted of several entries and pageants of excess by all the elements. A masque representing fire was admirable; then came a Venus from out of the clouds. The conclusion was a heaven, whither all ascended. But the glory of the masque was the great persons performing in it, the French King, his brother the Duke of Anjou, with all the grandees of the court, the king performing to the admiration of all. The music was twenty-nine violins, vested *à l'antique*, but the habits of the masquers were stupendously rich and glorious."

princess, which was profusely embroidered with precious stoïes. In her hair she wore sprigs of brilliants, fashioned into bouquets of dazzling flowers, and surmounted by a plume of drooping feathers, white, black and carnation, fastened by ribbons of the same colours. The flowers and plumes appeared to spring spontaneously from a rock-work of huge diamonds and pearls,—"it was as though all the beauties and riches of nature," says Madame de Motteville, "had been exhausted to contribute to the adornment of this fair creature."

She herself complacently avows, that nothing more handsome, nothing more magnificent could well be conceived, than her *parure;* but adds, "there were not wanting those who complimented me on the beauty of my face and form, the fairness of my complexion, the brilliancy of my hair; no less admirable they confessed than all the riches which bedecked my person." Conscious, to the fullest extent, of the potency of her charms, natural and acquired, she occupied the chair of state resigned to her by the young king, who seated himself with the Prince of Wales, on a cushion on the steps of the dais.

"I was not in the slightest degree disconcerted," says Mademoiselle, "at occupying so very elevated a position; or at seeing two Princes and many of the Princesses of the blood at my feet. Those who had flattered me on entering the ball-room, did not fail to assure me the next day, that my unconstrained aspect on this ephemeral throne, was an evident proof that I was destined to fill one more permanent,—a throne to which my high birth fully entitled me. I could not help looking down upon the Prince of Wales with my heart, as well

as with my eyes, for my mind was filled with the idea of espousing the Emperor. An impression by no means unnatural, for ambassadors sent to the imperial court with condolences on the death of the Empress, reported, on their return, that the people of Vienna desired nothing more ardently than that I should succeed her. The Queen Regent, furthermore, while assisting at my toilette, spoke of the match as highly probable, and protested that she was disposed to do all in her power to bring it about, fully persuaded that it would be beneficial to the interests of France. Under these circumstances how could I do otherwise than regard Prince Charles as an object of pity?"

Much deluded Princess! How little did she dream that the Queen, the Cardinal, and even the Duke, her father, had not only no real intention of uniting her with the Emperor, but were averse to her marrying at all: unwilling that the vast possessions entirely at her own disposal should pass into foreign hands. Flattering and cajoling her with the notion that they were desirous of seating her on an imperial throne, they did all that in them lay to prevent the possibility of such an occurrence; and, therefore, with this view, secretly encouraged the Queen of England to seek the hand of the rich heiress for her penniless son, fully conscious that they could at any moment put a stop to the affair.[1]

[1] Sir Edward Hyde, at this very time, writes thus on the subject to Secretary Nicholas: "I am far from being secure, for many reasons, that the intelligence from London of the Prince's marriage may not be true. We were apprehensive of it before he went (from Jersey), and spoke freely to him our opinions of the fatal consequence of it. But when I talked sadly with my Lord Jermyn of it, he assured

Henrietta Maria, who had remarked the ambitious young lady's disdainful treatment of her son, reproached her with fickleness, and upbraided her for preferring a widower double her own age to a prince younger than herself. The Princess indignantly repudiated the accusation, but it was no difficult matter to gather from the expression of her features the real sentiments of, what she calls, her heart. Her disappointed aunt never forgave her; and some time after, when Mademoiselle, assisted by two of her waiting gentlewomen, took the City of Orleans by escalade, the Queen of England sarcastically remarked that she acted *la Pucelle* to the life, having driven out the English before taking possession of the city.

It would be a great omission not to notice the sensation created by Louis Quatorze, at this ball. His majesty wore a suit of black satin, the hue of which served to heighten the effect of the gold and silver embroidery with which the dress was decorated. Carnation feathers, and a profusion of ribbons to correspond, completed his attire, its richness being, however, forgotten in the contemplation of his handsome figure. The ladies of the court, in the hearing of his mother, were loud in praises of his eyes,—brilliant but soft in expression; the fairness of his complexion; the vivacity, yet dignified gravity of his features; the richness of his flowing hair, which had not as yet lost its flaxen colour. "Although not above eight years old, he

me,* there was no such thought, and if it should be attempted, he would publicly oppose it."—State Papers, vol. ii. p. 346.

* Jermyn's assurances have but little weight at any time;—the selfishness of the French court was a much better guarantee.

danced to admiration, and was altogether the most graceful and charming person of the assembly: the Prince of Wales was also much admired, and rendered himself very agreeable to all."

The only public document to which we find Prince Charles's sign-manual appended, whilst dancing attendance upon *La Grande Mademoiselle,* is an address to the States of Jersey, dated from the Louvre, on the 22d of March. The interval between the transmission of this letter and its reception by those to whom it was directed, we shall employ in inquiring into the affairs of the Channel Islands, from the commencement of the present year.

Early in January, we learn, on consulting our trustworthy journalist, that Lemprière, Dumaresq, and Herault, who, after their banishment, resided in London, had been endeavouring to induce the parliament to undertake the reduction of Castle Cornet and the invasion of Jersey. But the parliament, impoverished by the large sum exacted by the Scots for the betrayal of the king,[1] were too much occupied in finding ways and means for the payment of the clamorous officers of their own army, and in raising troops for Ireland, to take active measures for the subjugation of the royalist strongholds in the Channel, however obnoxious, and however injurious to their commerce. They nevertheless sent orders to their governor in Guernsey, to summon Castle Cornet; and we in consequence meet with the following document, and its rejoinder:—

[1] The unfortunate king on being asked whether he preferred remaining with the Scotch, or going to the English rebels, is said to have replied, "It is more fitting that I should go with those who have bought me, than remain with those who have sold me."

"For Sir Baldwin Wake, in Castle Cornett, these.[1]

"Being studious how to preserve a Souldyer, and conceiving that your opposition to the Parliament of England may bee continued by a non, or mis-understanding of the proceed of affaires, my affection (as to the cleering of that) induceth mee to lett you knowe, that (by certain intelligence lately received from England) I am assured, the Scottish army is marched into its owne kingdome; and his Majestie's person now at Holmeley house, near Northampton. This, and the intelligence of Collonel Cartarett his proposall to surrender the castles and Isle of Jersey, (onely conditionally hee might depart thence with honour) makes mee heartily wish, that your wisdome would provide you such an obedience as might agree with that honourable Court of Parliament whose cause the Dyvine Providence hath (by a totall scattering of all the clouds of opposition) at last brought safe in the harbour of peace and truth.

"Sir, commemorate with yourselfe that, even of your owne party, men of all sorts of conditions, both wise, honorable, learned, valyant, politique and religious have thought it the best part of their wisdome rather tymely to throwe themselves into the harbour of the Parliament's protection than (by a wilfull obstinacy) to continue themselves a prey to certayne ruyne. Lett your judgement therefore make a serious consideration of all theise, and then honour mee with such a resolution as may signifie your desire to treate, wherin (if you shall really intend) I assure you to bee tender of your honour; and promyse

[1] Clarendon MSS. and Osborne Papers.

you (in whatever way may conduce thereunto) to evidence myselfe Sir

"Your affectionate friend and servant

"ROBERT RUSSEL."

"Peter Porte, 26° Jan. 1647."

"An Answer thereunto.

"SIR,

"I am very confident ther's noe better way to preserve a Souldier, than a reall performance of that trust which is imposed him. Neither, Sir, hath ignorance or misunderstanding ledd mee to any opposition against the parliament. Conceiving that the maintaining this place for his Majesty, and his royal highness the Prince can bee noe disservice to them, besides being bound by the lawes of God, and my sworne allegiance to my Soveraigne lord and master the king, and my duty to his royall Highness, engageth mee to lett you know that noe misfortune whatsoever shall make mee fayle or alter my resolution in preserving this place.

"For your intelligence concerning Sir George Carteret I doe not understand; I know him to bee a gentleman of that honour, honesty, and wisdome, and so well mixt in him that I justly perswade myselfe that, he will never fayle his Majestie and his royal Highness the trust reposed in him. And though the Dyvine Providence (which I confesse) hath dispersed and scattered us, yett I make noe question ther's a tyme when the faithfull sighing heart shall rejoyce. I verie well know that, wise, honoured, valyant, and especially politique, have esteemed it wisdome to throwe themselves into the harbour of the Parliament, being forct by the tempest, yet I am fully

assured that the honest, and faithful to the end, shall one day arryve at the long wisht for porte.

"I hope, when you have seriously considered this, you will honour my resolucions, and signify a hearty desire to bee as I am; wherein, if you shall really intend, I shall desire you to prove yourselfe a loyall and faithful subject to his majestie. And then I shall promise you (in anything that may conduce to his service) to manifeste myselfe,

"Sir,

"Your verie affectionate humble servant

"BALDWIN WAKE."[1]

"Castle Cornett, 27° Jan. 1647."

The following day copies of these documents were brought to Jersey, and Sir George, on reading Russel's unwarrantable assertion respecting himself, at once despatched a messenger to assure the governor of Castle Cornet of the falsehood of the statement, and to caution him against Russel's treachery, which was evidently intended to throw him off his guard, and induce him to come to terms. Wake, however, was too old a soldier to be circumvented, in spite of the alleged distemper of his brain; and, although at variance with his brother governor, treated the insinuation, as to his disloyalty, in a manner that proved him to be worthy of the trust reposed in him by the king, and the honour lately conferred upon him by the prince.

Neither Russel's summons, nor the reports current of threatened invasion on the part of the rebels, appear to

[1] The above letter goes to prove that Baldwin Wake had recovered from his attack,—probably *delirium tremens*.

have excited much alarm in Jersey, as the subjoined extracts from Hyde's correspondence testify.

"Sir Edward Hyde to Mr. Secretary Nicholas.[1]

* * * "For the discourse of our insecurity, or of any treaty to deliver the Island (except the King put himselfe into their hands, and concurrs with them in what they[2] propose), wee have not the least apprehension. Neither hath Tom Hyde given me any advertisements to that purpose. It is very probable some fugitives of this Island, (of which many are at London,) to make themselves considerable, pretend correspondencyes and treatyes; but, the Governour bidd mee assure you, there can bee not the least danger that way, and that nothing but the presence of an army to assist them, can discompose the people from their obedience, who considering the Castles, which are too well provyded to be attaqued; or hopes for, by them, very well apprehend the misery they must indure by an insurrection, whereas they now live most happily. Yet hee does intend, about the end of the next moneth, to send 30 or 40 suspected people out of the island into Normandy; and to allow them their meanes till winter, when they may returne.

"EDW. HYDE."

"Jersey, the 28 Jan. 1647."

"Sir Edward Hyde to the Lord Treasurer Cottington.[3]

"MY VERY GOOD LORD, "Jersey, 28 Jan. 1647.

* * * "I do extremely wonder, that I do receive no word from Tom Hyde himself (though I

[1] Clarendon MSS., endorsed "Myne to Secretary."

[2] The Parliament.

[3] State Papers, vol. ii. p. 332.

have one short letter from him) concerning the business of this island. The secretary (giving me caution to look to myself) tells me, that the Dr. says, that there is a treaty at London for the delivery up of this island, and a friend from London writes me word, that he trusted the Doctor[1] to say somewhat to me of my own security. It is possible there may be a treaty; for there are many fugitives of this island there, who no doubt will pretend much power, but can do nothing. We are as sure of the Governor (Carteret) as of ourselves, and very confident of the best of the island; neither can the common people (who really are not generally disaffected) do the least hurt without the help of an army, which would quickly undo the island, and could never recover the castles. If the king puts himself absolutely into their hands, and concurs with them, we may be put to it, (for I ever thought he and two houses of Parliament together would be too hard for any ordinary man); but otherwise, truly, I do not think you can in the world dispose yourself better, than in this island (except at Fonthill) with these accommodations I gave you an account of in my last. In earnest, the hope that it may be possible gives me great comfort." * * *

The same to the same.[2]

"My very good lord, "Jersey, the 12th of Feb. 1647.

* * * "'Tis true I have received a letter at last from your Dr. Tom, but not one word of the feares and jealousyes of this island; soe that I

[1] Thomas Hyde, of New Coll. Oxford, younger son of Sir Laurence Hyde, admitted Doctor of Law Oct. 17th 1640.—Wood's Fasti, p. 284.

[2] Clarendon MSS.

believe hee thought them frivolous, and truly I think them no better; and therefore, for the reasons I have given you formerly, I resolve to venture my pretious person here, except I doe see more reason to the contrary; and when my lord Hopton leaves mee, which hee sayes shall be shortly, to sojourne in the Castle, with the very good governour, where I shall study and have buisiness enough with my selfe, though none with, or for, any body els; and I believe comply with that kinde of life, as well as those who have more pretended to melancholique, and lesse to activity, than I have done. Really, if it please God to give me health (which I have no reason to despayre off) I have noe feare of the ambicion, or restlessenesse of minde, which some of your friends sharpely accuse me off. If there shall bee still stirring in England (otherwise I have noe hope of it) I am not in despayre that my lord Hopton may persuade you to Jersey. However I pray let me know whether you goe, and when you remove." * * *

It is now necessary to give some account of the Irish rapparees bequeathed by my Lord Digby to Sir George Carteret, in the course of the preceding summer. Had these tall fellows but placed some slight restraint on their pilfering propensities, they would have proved valuable auxiliaries to the native force; unable, however, to overcome natural instinct and the force of habit, they rendered themselves obnoxious to the inhabitants, and were a constant source of vexation and annoyance to the Lieutenant-Governor. Those whom he had quartered in the old chapel, finding their daily rations of salt junk, poor-john, hard biscuits and dried peas, but sorry fare, and that luxuries were to be obtained by foraging

the surrounding country, failed not to furnish their messes abundantly with mutton, lamb, poultry, vegetables and fruit, from the meadows, hen-roosts, orchards and gardens of the unresisting peasantry. Gates and fences supplied them with dry fuel for a time, and when these failed, apple-trees and young timber were ruthlessly felled to minister to their culinary wants. As to linen, their observation taught them, that enough was to be found on every hedge. Nothing, in short, came amiss to these marauders, nor were their comrades billeted in town, much against the wishes of the governor and the inclinations of the citizens, a whit more honest in their dealings; whence resulted house-breakings, shop-liftings, and petty larcenies; on market days especially.

Reiterated complaints were at first made by the bereaved islanders to the captains of the company; and, in justice to the latter it must be stated, that, whenever the offenders could be identified their officers beat them with big sticks, "sprigs of shillelah," or sentenced them to ride the wooden horse, with muskets tied to their heels,—their heads and shoulders decorated with skins of stolen sheep, and feathers of purloined geese and turkeys. "But, unrestrained by punishment, the hardened wretches, not having the fear of God before their eyes, not only continued their depredations, but cruelly maltreated all who ventured to complain. The islanders awed into submission consoled themselves with the idea that those abhorred papists, like the locusts of Scripture, were sent among them by providence as a just punishment for past transgressions against the authority of the Lord's anointed."

Some of these locusts, as we have seen, had been

sent to Pendennis, others to Castle Cornet; but, too many still remaining on Sir George's hands, he solicited Lord Jermyn, Governor-in-Chief of the island, to allow them some pay; in order, if possible, to deter them from acquiring the delicacies of the season at the expense of the community. The only answer returned by his lordship, was an order from Mazarin for them to be sent over and enrolled in the French armies then engaged against the Spaniards. Most of them accordingly departed; but, preferring their late independent mode of life to the restraints of military discipline, in the face of an enemy, they deserted, and hastened back to Jersey. In spite of their previous misconduct, they were not altogether unwelcome to Sir George; who, threatened with invasion, was anxious to reinforce the garrisons of his castles.

The latter part of this account, from Chevalier, is confirmed by a passage in Hyde's letter to the secretary Nicholas, which runs thus: "The governor hath wrote plain English to my lord Jermyn; and hath proposed somewhat to him, last week, to which, when he receives an answer, I will derive [*sic*] it to you. But truly methinks they (the French party at St. Germains) seem much afraid to anger their old friends at Westminster, and I believe are loth to do so ungracious a thing, as reserve a place in rebellion against parliament. After they had made the governor (Carteret) keep the Irish company all the winter;—when he importuned to be rid of them, or to be supplied with money for their entertainment as had been proposed,—in the spring (when they would be of use) they removed them by peremptory, reiterated command, notwithstanding all the reasons plainly set down to the contrary. But, by good luck,

about thirty of them are returned hither so that I hope we shall not want men."[1]

With the detachment of Irish soldiers, and probably in charge of them, came Sir Francis Doddington, a staunch adherent of his majesty's, whom he had served bravely in many battles. A harsh and cruel cavalier was this Sir Francis, never giving quarter when he had the upper hand of the rebels; and, as he said himself, never expecting that mercy should be shown to him if he ever fell under their grasp. Being in "*mauvaise odeur*" with the parliament, he fled when their armies became everywhere victorious, and never having any safe prospect of returning to England, spent his time in travelling over Italy and France. He remained in Jersey for about a week,—the purport of his coming unascertained by our journalist,—and then went to St. Maloes on his way back to St. Germain's.[2]

About this time the Prince of Wales sent over a handsome charger, worth at least a thousand francs, as a present to the governor; a very beautiful, spirited little

[1] Hyde's letter to Nicholas, March 7th, 1647. State Papers, vol. ii. p. 345.

[2] From Sir Edward Walker's discourses (p. 40) we learn that Sir Francis Doddington in 1645, having fought almost a summer's day at Warminster, routed those who were opposed to him, chased them two and twenty miles, slaying about a hundred, and taking many prisoners. The next day he assaulted Woodhouse, slew about twenty of its defenders, and captured the governor and about eighty more. "Sir Francis did not compliment, but used them as rebels, and presently hung up about fourteen of them, and could hardly be persuaded to spare the rest."

Whitelocke says, "It was certified by letters that Sir Francis Doddington, meeting an honest minister upon the way near Taunton, asked him, 'Who art thou for, Priest?' who answered, 'For God and the Gospel;' whereupon Doddington shot the minister to death." No wonder that both houses voted this superlative malignant exempt from pardon.

horse, as we are told, nearly all white, with the slightest possible sprinkling of grey. Sir George prized the animal highly, not only for its beauty, but for the sake of the illustrious donor, and appointed three of the Irish soldiers to look after it. Two of them acted as running footmen whenever the governor mounted his charger; the third accompanied his lady when she rode abroad; and all of them were clothed for the occasion with red jackets and white hose, and wore white beavers.

But Sir George did not long enjoy the princely donation; in a few weeks the favourite horse died suddenly and unexpectedly. In those days sudden death, whether of man or beast, being invariably ascribed to poison, an inquest was held, and a *sectio cadaveris* performed: but no trace of poison being discoverable, the verdict returned was, that the horse had died of fat, the consequence of too high feeding and want of exercise,—killed, in fact, with kindness. As to the running footmen, their occupation being gone, they too became fat from grief or laziness; and taking to evil courses, the not unwonted practice of pampered hirelings, were convicted of sheep-stealing, underwent the discipline of the wooden horse, and were dismissed the governor's service.

The time had now arrived for the final departure of Lord Hopton, much to his own regret and the grief of the governor, the chancellor, and the handful of honest fellows, who, as Hyde writes to Cottington, "love each other heartily, which, they say, is a charity not yet translated into the language of the climate in which you inhabit." His lordship had resided with much content in Jersey ever since the spring of 1646, with the exception of three or four days in the autumn, which he had

spent on the opposite coast of France with his uncle, Sir Arthur Hopton,—a man well stricken in years, possessed of immense wealth in England, unsequestered in consequence of his absence as ambassador at the Spanish court during the civil war, and from his taking no active part in the disturbances. But when the parliament gained the ascendancy he was dismissed from his office; and, learning that his nephew was in Jersey, he came as far as Cotainville to obtain an interview with him; fearful of venturing into a royalist island lest the parliament might thereby be afforded a pretext for confiscating his estates.

Sir Arthur had no children, and his nephew being heir to his property,[1] and much beloved by him, he was naturally anxious to induce him to reside in France. But Lord Hopton preferred Jersey, and for some months resisted his uncle's repeated solicitations to leave the island. At length, however, letters arrived from England announcing the death of Lady Hopton, who sunk under the combined effects of grief and vexation, at being so long separated from her husband, and finding that his estates were on the eve of being confiscated. This event put a stop to further procrastination on the part of Lord Hopton, and rendered it necessary that he should without loss of time confer in person with his uncle, so as to make arrangements for the preservation of, at least, a portion of the property now in jeopardy.

Accordingly, on the 26th of February, the day after he received the news of his wife's death, Lord Hopton took passage for Cotainville, on his way to Rouen,

[1] Lord Hopton was also childless, and the uncle was named heir in remainder to the nephew; but dying before him, "never enjoyed those honours."—Evelyn's Diary, note, vol. iv. p. 93.

where his uncle anxiously expected him. He was accompanied by Captain Barrington, an officer who had long served him as aide-de-camp, and six or seven domestics, leaving behind him his chaplain, Richard Watson, and his butler, a young man of the name of Arton.[1]

Chevalier adds his spontaneous testimony to that of Lord Hopton's friends, as to the estimable qualities of his gallant and devoted cavalier. The following passage from his journal will not bear translating, and could scarcely be converted even into modern French, without injury to the simplicity of its phraseology.

"Milord Hapeton n'apargna point son bien envers ceux de sa nation; il maintenoit même des ministres Anglois qui faisoient les prêches dans le temple de St. Hellier; et il alloit entendre les prêches et prières du matin, et du soir pendant le tems qu'il a resté dans cette isle: même il alloit aussi entendre les sermons en François, et n'oublioit pas les pauvres, quoiqu'il fut hors de dedans ses biens.

"C'etoit un homme fort grave, et d'une belle contenance, lequel se porta prudemment, et sobrement,

[1] Master Arton seems to have been a loose fish, and somewhat of a gay deceiver. A young lady of good family and connexions had bestowed her affections on him, but the parents being violently opposed to her marrying, she eloped with him, and they managed to remain concealed among the farm-houses in the country. At length however the relations deeming it no longer prudent to withhold their consent, the young people were married; but in a few months Arton, under pretext of recovering some property, went to England, from whence he never returned; and the suspicion, previously entertained by the bride's friends, of his having another wife in his own country, was ultimately confirmed. Considering the many cavaliers who visited the island, and the number of their followers, it may fairly be inferred that this was not the only instance in which love passages were exchanged between native *brunettes* and their visitors.

29547

pendant le tems qu'il resta à Jersey; qui fut onze mois qu'il y restã sans sortir, excepté les trois jours qu'il fut voir son oncle en Normandie. Milord Hapeton, et Sir Edouard Hyde, Chancellier, avoient été de grands supports pour les pauvre réfugiés à Jersey. L'argent n'etoit pas bien commun parmi la plupart d'iceux; il ne faisoit pas comme les jeunes plantes, qui croissent en allongisant, et augmentant, mais plutôt il alloit en diminuant, car la longeur du tems mangeoit tout. Lesquels tinrent, long tems, table ouverte à cẽs pauvres fugitifs d'Angleterre; qui, pour la plupart, n'avoient point d'argent."

The very next day after Hopton's departure, Hyde quits his lodging in the town, and, according to previous arrangement, "betakes himself to be a sojourner with the honest governor,—the only way he can think of living," now that he is bereft of his friend, and his friend's purse. In Elizabeth Castle he enjoys the very cheerful society of Sir George and his lady, receives all the liberty and entertainment he could have expected in his own family, and resolves to study hard, and endeavour to keep his body healthy, and his mind cheerful. "I am fixed here," he informs honest Joseph Jane, "having a chamber (and all other conveniences) allowed me in the Castle, the limits whereof are large enough for the exercise of my narrow mind, as well as my fortune; and where we have the happiness to serve God as constantly and as decently as I have known in any place."

The last sentence indirectly refers to the Rev. Lioncl Gatford, who has likewise taken up his abode in the castle, officiating there in his sacred capacity, and

highly appreciated as a man of much learning, great piety, and most persuasive eloquence. But the inmates of the castle and the town are not long destined to enjoy the pastoral aid of this pearl of great price, for the old Earl of Norwich, whose chaplain he is, requests his presence in Paris, whereupon the Chancellor writes to the Earl to the following effect :—

"Sir Edward Hyde to the Earl of Norwich.[1]

"Elizabeth Castle, March 18, 1647.

"My very good lord,

"I have received your lordship's of the 9th of March, and have seen the other to my lord Hopton, who about a fortnight since, upon the sudden news of the death of his wife, left us to visit his uncle, and my lord Treasurer of Rouen, in a consultation of his fortune. But, except some new accident diverts him, we shall shortly see him here again. Neither are we to be affrighted with the terrible threats which are pronounced against this island at London * * * *

"We do all hope here that you will not call Mr. Gatford from us; in earnest, I do not know that you can do the king a greater disservice, and, therefore, pray spare him as long as you can possibly. You have store of good clergy in those parts, who are as fit for a court,—but we shall never find such another for a castle, where we must think every day of dying.

"I am fixed here, not only because I know not where to be better, (for more humanity and kindness no man ever received than I have done from these excellent people) but because I know not where else to be at all,

[1] Clarendon MSS.

and had much rather be shut up seven years in this castle, than at liberty in any part of France. Yet I hope I shall not grow sullen; or more unfit for business than my natural dulness will always keep me; and wherever you think me wise enough to serve, you will meet with no man more at your disposal. In the mean time I will try if that Apocrypha: 'he that hath little business, shall become wise,'—will prove canonical scripture * * * *

"Edw. Hyde."

Lord Norwich pays little attention to this appeal, but in a short time despatches another letter to Jersey requiring the immediate attendance of his chaplain. He encloses ten pistoles to defray his expenses as far as Rouen, where a credit for twenty additional broad pieces awaits him; his route through Holland is traced out, and money is provided at certain stages to meet the expenses of his journey.

Mr. Gatford, in consequence of this peremptory order, tears himself away from his friends and admirers in Jersey; and, as he is considered a safe escort for a lady, the wife of Sir Henry De Vic, his majesty's resident at Brussels, is placed under his care. Sir Henry, like Amias Andros, is a Guernseyman, and a royalist, who has served his king long and faithfully.[1] Lady De Vic, a Jersey woman, daughter of the late Sir Philip Carteret, has spent the winter in Jersey, on a visit to her numerous relatives; residing the greater part of the time at Elizabeth Castle with her sister, Lady Carteret, and her brother-in-law and cousin Sir George. During her absence from her husband's home, her little

[1] See Hardwick's State Papers.

daughter has probably been taking lessons in dancing at the nursery in Brussels, preparatory to figuring with much *éclát*, fifteen years later, at the court balls after the Restoration. "Then to country dances," says Pepys, "the king leading the first, which he called for; which was, he says, 'Cuckolds all Awry,' the old dance of England. Of the ladies that danced, the Duke of Monmouth's mistress, and my lady Castlemaine, and a daughter of Sir Harry De Vick's, were the best."

The month of March, 1647, is a stirring time in Jersey. The royalists, driven out of the west of England the preceding year, betake themselves, some to the land service in foreign armies, others to the sea, on which element they carry on an active predatory warfare, exceedingly harassing to their enemies, beneficial to the Prince of Wales, and not unprofitable to themselves. Brown Bushell and his colleagues at Dunkirk and Ostend, bearing commissions from his majesty; George Bowden, Chamberlain, Blaize, Skinner, Green, Jelf, Thomas Amy, and some others, under commissions from the Jersey vice-admiral, command small frigates, similar to the Dutch picaroons of after-times, and scour the "chops of the channel," so that no parliament merchantman can safely navigate without a convoy.

Amy, formerly captain of the Prince's frigate, *The Little George*, has interest enough, through the court at St. Germain's, to obtain the French king's protection for these letters of marque and their prizes. Under the great seal of France, the local authorities in the ports and harbours of that kingdom are commanded to afford the captors all manner of countenance and assistance, in disposing of any English vessels they

may capture. Admiralty courts, legalizing, after a fashion, the condemnation of prizes, are established in various places: Captain Percy, an Irish loyalist, presides over the Cherbourg court, and Amias Andros is appointed admiralty judge in Jersey. The latter is somewhat unfairly superseded, in process of time, by Cadwallader Jones, late "chief customer in the west," whose accounts have been, after some delay, audited by the chancellor of the exchequer.

Sir George Carteret, who derives large profits from these transactions, is exceedingly active in promoting them; and being informed, early in the year, that a frigate of Lord Jermyn's is lying idle at Cherbourg, he obtains permission to get her over, and employ her in his own service. She is a new vessel, Dunkirk built, of about sixty tons, carrying twelve pieces of ordnance. Captain Cannon, her commander, a man of family and a scholar, commenced his naval career as chaplain of a man-of-war, but owing to the disturbed state of affairs doffing his gown, he put on a uniform, and promoted himself to the rank of captain.

Jermyn's patache, on her arrival in Jersey, is found to be much out of repair, with scarcely hands enough on board to navigate her. She is speedily refitted; equipped with victuals and warlike stores of all kinds; manned with a bold crew of able seamen; and sent on a cruise under Cannon, Captain Chamberlain acting as second in command. She prowls about off the western coasts of England, and in less than a week captures a merchantman, bound from Plymouth to London, which she brings straightway into Jersey. The trader is condemned by the admiralty judge; her cargo, consisting of barrels of sugar, bales of cotton, indigo, tobacco,

dried fruits, and other merchandise, is put into store, and the vessel is sold to a company of merchants at St. Aubin's for the sum of one hundred crowns.

Captain Cannon is again despatched to sea towards the end of February; after cruising unsuccessfully along the shores of Normandy, he shapes his course towards England; and, somewhere off the coast of Sussex, descries a solitary sail, wearing the inviting aspect of an unarmed merchant vessel, deeply laden, and a dull sailer. He attempts to run in between the stranger and the shore, whereupon, the latter puts about and endeavours to go before the wind. The frigate gives chase, and in four or five hours coming within range, opens fire with her bow guns. The unlucky trader is brought to, off the Isle of Wight; boats are sent out, she is boarded, and taken possession of by Captain Cannon, who brings her into Jersey, on the 18th of March. The admiralty judge has little hesitation in declaring both ship and cargo "good and lawful prize;" and she turns out to be of more value than her intrinsic worth, being a store-ship of upwards of ninety tons burthen, destined by "the parliamentary gentry" for the supply of their army in Ireland. Her principal lading consists of weapons of various kinds, besides accoutrements and clothes sufficient to equip six thousand men.

This is clearly the identical craft alluded to by Whitelocke: "March 30, letters from St. Malloe, in France, advising, that a pyrate from Jersey had made prize of a vessel of the parliament's going to Ireland, with cloath, and apparel for six thousand men."[1]

It will be worth while to recount what further is said

[1] Memorials, p. 245.

by Chevalier respecting this precious argosy, as her capture involves important results at no distant period.

Upon taking in her cargo at the Tower wharf, she had dropped down the river to the Downs, and there waited some time for the man-of-war appointed to convoy her to Londonderry. The promised escort, however, was so long in getting ready for sea, that the master of the transport became impatient, and taking advantage of a favourable wind, determined to hazard a coasting voyage to Portsmouth, from whence, he understood that a convoy was on the point of sailing. In the prosecution of this rash enterprise he was encountered by his captor.

When overhauled in Jersey, the transport was found to contain thirty barrels of gunpowder, sundry chests of bullets, and a due proportion of match; moreover 500 stand of muskets, 500 carbines, 500 pistols, five surgeons' chests, two small brass cannon, 500 swords, shoulder belts, and bandoliers; war saddles, pack saddles, bridles and spurs; 500 bales of ready made clothes, 36 bales of cloth, for making *haut de chausses* and other garments; 500 shirts, several bales of linen, scarlet jerkins, stockings (*chausses à pied*), and 450 pair of shoes. In addition to these she was stored with sacks of wheat, rice, and peas; barrels of butter and cheese, bags of chestnuts, boxes of raisins (*passe au soleil*), and other articles too numerous to mention; the whole, as per inventory, valued at £15,000 sterling.

Rare windfalls, this and the former prize, for Sir George Carteret, who, in his various capacities, obtains the lion's share. First he appropriates the arms, ammunition, and ready made clothing, as the fifteenths due to his majesty, whose representative he is. Then he claims

his tenths as vice-admiral; and further, the proportion devolving upon him as "victualler" of the frigate; it is not unlikely that he will absorb Lord Jermyn's share as well. The cloth is then distributed as prize money; the captain being entitled to thirty-two shares; the officers to twenty, fifteen, ten; and the common seamen to less, in due proportions regulated by royal edict.

In this manner six bales of cloth are allotted, and soon converted into hard cash, being brought to St. Helier's and sold to French traders. The cautious natives are loath to meddle with the red broad cloth, which may bring them into trouble, should the parliamentarians, provoked to an invasion of the island, recognise the article. It is five quarters of an English yard (a French ell) in width, exclusive of the selvage, which has been torn off, for the convenience of packing, and sells for half-a-crown (*un ecu*); a superior quality at four *livres tournois*, and some coarse grey serge as low as thirty *sous* per ell. The whole is disposed of at as cheap a rate as it could be purchased at in London, and consequently the French buyers make good bargains. The governor, however, aware that if he disposes of his share of the broad cloth in Jersey it must be at a "tremendous sacrifice," sends it into France, and thereby realizes a considerable profit.[1] The remainder of the prize goods are stored for a time, and when a sufficient number of

[1] These circumstances rather justify Mr. Coventry's assertions, who says Pepys, "speaking of Sir George Carteret slightly, and diminishing his services for the king in Jersey; that he was well rewarded, and had good lands and rents, and other profits from the king, all the time he was there; and that it was always his humour to have things done his way, he brought for an example how he would not let the castle there be victualled for more than a month, that so he might keep it at his beck, though the people of the town did offer to supply it more often

foreign factors has been attracted to the island, are put up to auction and sold, together with the hull of the store ship, which latter realizes £130 sterling. "A very moderate price," says Chevalier, "for a craft of this size, still fit for service, and having her standing and running rigging in excellent condition."

It is doubtful, however, whether the sudden acquisition of so much ill-gotten wealth was altogether beneficial to the community, even to those who participated in it directly. "Some few, it is true, economised their newly-acquired capital; others traded to advantage, and became richer; but by far the greater proportion, ignorant of the true value of money, deemed themselves each as rich as Crœsus, and squandered their gains right and left, in dress, in drinking, gormandizing, and all manner of extravagance and prodigality, so that in a short time they became more needy than before. Not so Sir George; he not only took care of what he got, but turned it to account in various ways, and profited largely by the misfortunes of his fellow-creatures."

"Chose lamentable que la guerre!" continues our moralist, "les uns se rejouissant du malheur, et infortune d'autrui, et les autres se lamentant de leur perte. Cependant les plus clairvoyants présagoient bien, que toutes ces choses ici n'ameneroient, dans la suite, que des malheurs en cette isle; et que la fin de la guerre se tourneroit en fiel et absinthe; et que la roue de la fortune ne tourneroit pas toujours du même coté; et qu'elle n'etoit point bastante pour toujours tenir ferme. Ce qui donnoit de grandes inquietudes à plusieurs (qui

themselves." There may be much truth in these observations, nevertheless Sir George's services are too much disparaged, although his rewards may not be exaggerated.

pensoient bien) en voyant les choses ainsi menées comme elles etoient."

The chancellor, however, who is not so great a croaker as the "*clairvoyant*" journalist, soon after the arrival of the prize, writes thus to Lord Cottington:—"You so fully understand all that can be said of our condition here, by the account that my lord Hopton has given you that I need add nothing, but that, since his leaving us, we are by the care of your *friends* in London, provided with some provisions, ammunition, and other good things, besides some surgeons' chests, which are much wanted."[1]

These "provisions, ammunition, and other good things"—the king's fifteenths, unwittingly supplied by his majesty's rebel subjects—are not, however, allowed to grow rusty, moth-eaten, or musty, in the magazines of Elizabeth Castle. The provisions are distributed for immediate consumption, Sir George being about to re-victual for the summer;[2] the soldiers in garrison

[1] Clarendon MSS. 28th March, 1647.

[2] An enumeration of the various articles will give some idea of the quality of the eatables and drinkables required by the garrison of a fortress at this period. "Good store of wheat, barley, and rye; biscuits, rice, oatmeal, and dried peas; barrels of salted beef, pickled pork, bacon and poor john—the latter imported direct from the Jersey fisheries established by Sir Walter Raleigh, at Newfoundland. Oats, hay, beans and other provender, for the horses; and beverage for the men, consisting of Bourdeaux and Spanish wines; cider, the produce of the island; and beer, partly imported from France, partly brewed in the town of St. Helier's. Vinegar for various condimental purposes was wanted, as well as oil for burning in the lamps. Then as to fuel, coal in abundance, taken in prizes, was constantly kept in store, in addition to furze and brushwood for heating the ovens. Mills too for grinding corn were fitted up, as in case of a blockade, free intercourse with the island might be interrupted. Last of all, three or four hun-

are at once, and for the first time, invested with the red jerkins (*casaques rouges*), lately destined for Ireland; and, at a general muster of the militia on the 25th of March, those who have hitherto been armed merely with pikes and bills, are provided with matchlocks, bandoliers, and swords.

Friday, 26th of March, the second day of the new year, old style, is a grand day of business in the town as well as at the castle. The states are assembled, and a guard of twenty-four soldiers, arrayed in their new uniform, attend the governor and the chancellor to the court-house, and stand sentry at the doors during the sitting of the local parliament. Sir George, on assuming the presidential chair, produces a sealed despatch from his royal highness the Prince of Wales, addressed to the estates of the island. He breaks the seal in presence of the members, and causes what follows to be read aloud:—

"Charles P.

"Trusty and well beloved, greeting. Wee are so abundantly satisfied of your good affections, and fidelity to us, (of which we have had a full experience) and wee have so great an interest to the tranquillity, and safety of your island, That wee are now no lesse vigilund to prevent any dangers, or disturbances that may threaten it, than at the time we were in person with you.

"Therefore being advertised (by the intelligences that wee have received from London) that those seditious fugitives of the said island (who have confiscated their

dred empty bottles, to be filled with combustibles, were always kept in readiness, in order that they might be used as signals at night, in case of need, or as fireworks on occasions of rejoicing."

lives and estates, to the King our Father) now residing with the rebels, do pretend to have a firme and assured correspondency, and a party in the island, ready to joyne with them (by which they hope to procure that forces may be sent to invade the said island).

" Wee have commanded our trusty and well-beloved Servant, Sir George Carteret, knight (Vice Chamberlaine of our house,[1] and Lievetenant Governour of the said island) to use the greatest diligence, and industry that possibly hee may for the discovery of such ill affected persons yet remaining there, with whom it is most probable that those fugitives have correspondency. And, that all such persons who may be justly suspected to be affected towards them, and that (in case of any attempt) would probably joyne with them, bee imprisoned forthwith, or expelled out of the island during this summer. The which being faithfully effected, (of which wee doubt not your accomplishment) it will the better give those of London to understand, how little assistance they are to expect from the inhabitants of the same. And (by that means) further mischiefe will be prevented. And to the end that this designe may the more regularly bee proceeded in, and exactly put in execution, Wee have thought it convenient (and by these presents wee desire, and require you) that you joyne, and give all assistance (that possibly you may) to the said Sir George Carteret, Knight, to put in execution these our commands, so necessary: there being no expedient more apparent to prevent all troubles and inconveniences that may happen unto you, than such public declaration of una-

[1] This sentence shows that Sir George was appointed to the office of Vice-chamberlain long before the Restoration.

nimitie, and perfect resolutions amongst your selves, under our protection.

"And be ye assured that if any attempt bee made against you, we shall be as careful to assist, preserve and defend you, as if wee were our selves with you. And as your fidelity to the King my father, to the crowne of England, and your particular affections towards our person, hath been (more than ordinary) emminent: wee think therefore that wee have not done our part until that (besides our gracious and generall acceptance) wee have set a notable marke of the esteeme that we have of that island, and the inhabitants thereof, that may be publique to the view of the world, and everlasting to posterity. And so wee bid you farewell.

"Given at the Castle de Louver in Paris March 22nd 1647.

"To our well beloved subjects the Estates and common councell of the island of Jarsey." [1]

The members of the States are highly flattered by his royal highness's gracious condescension in caring for the safety of the island; and, *séance tenante*, pass a decree ordering that the address shall be rendered into French, and published from every pulpit in Jersey the ensuing Sunday; in order to reassure the people, who are beginning to be uneasy as to the turn affairs may take.

The governor seizes this opportunity of informing

[1] Chevalier gives a very accurate translation of this document, but we prefer inserting the English version, obtained from a copy in the Bodleian Museum, having this imprint: "London printed by Moses Bell, neere Christ-Church, and Robert Ibbetson in Smithfield neer Hosier Lane. End of 1647."

the representatives of the Three Estates that, for some months, he has been aware of the secret correspondence between seditious fugitives in London, and certain disaffected parties not so far distant; who have represented to the Parliament of England that the castles of Jersey were unvictualled for any length of time, and that the gun-carriages, being rotten, were in an unserviceable condition. He hereupon denounces the utter falsehood of allegations, promulgated with no other view than that of inducing the rebels to attack him. "Cas arrivant qu'ils y vinssent," continues the indignant governor, "je leur montrerois que les roues des canons ne sont pas pourries, mais qu'elles sont fortes assez pour eux; et qu'il y a des vivres assez dedans les châteaux pour soutenir un siège de dix huit mois, pour cent hommes."

He then imparted to the assembly the contents of a private communication from the prince, giving details of the proceedings of the demagogues, in Jersey as well as in London, who were plotting against the safety of the island. The following resolution was in consequence adopted, ordered to be promulgated, and entered in the records:[1]—

"At the States of Jersey assembled March 26th 1646.

"Whereas it appears that certain disaffected fugitives from this island of Jersey, still persisting in their inveterate malice, have presented a petition to the parliament of England, alledging falsely that it emanates from the inhabitants of the said island; and, with equal false-

[1] The book in which these and other Acts of the States were recorded at this period, is said to have been destroyed during the Commonwealth.

hood and malice, declaring that the said inhabitants are desirous of departing from their duty and allegiance to his majesty.

"The states, therefore, knowing these allegations to be utterly unfounded, and maliciously intended to induce the parliament to send forces for the reduction of the said island, a circumstance which would involve calamities much more serious than those from which the islanders have so recently been delivered :—give notice, to all whom it may concern, that the members of the states are determined to remain firm in their duty and fidelity to his majesty; that they repudiate those who entertain a contrary opinion; that such an opinion is manifestly false and calumnious; and finally protest that they are resolved to spill their blood and expend their treasure to the last, in maintaining the protestant reformed religion, in supporting the king's authority, and in defending their laws, liberties and privileges. So help them God."

The States then issued a requisition to captains and constables of parishes, to make a search for the malcontents suspected of being in correspondence with those in London. Many persons hereupon concealed themselves; but others were denounced, apprehended, imprisoned by the governor, and afterwards deported into Normandy for the summer months; a certain allowance was made for their support, during the period of banishment, but they were given to understand that they might return on the approach of winter, when invasion was no longer to be feared.

Sir George at length succeeded in accomplishing a measure long in contemplation, and only delayed until

it had received the sanction of the Prince;—even then the *onus* was thrown on the broad shoulders of the obsequious authorities. That this species of ostracism met with the chancellor's approval is beyond doubt, as we find from a letter already quoted, and from another, written by Hyde to my lord treasurer, in which he says: "This poor island is like St. Ursula's field by Cologne, where, if you bury any body ten fathom deep, if it be not virgin, the earth casts it up within twenty four hours;—so here, who is not the same honest man he pretends to be, is in one night's space rendered upon part of France."[1]

The most ardent among the demagogues rejoiced, rather than otherwise, at their temporary expatriation, hoping and expecting that, long before the term had expired, the Parliament would subjugate the island, when they might return in triumph and wreak vengeance on their persecutors. Others, less zealous in the popular cause, repined at being separated, even for a few months, from their wives and children, and shed bitter tears at being torn from their small patrimonies which had descended from father to son for centuries.

The events above narrated fully account for certain letters laid before Parliament, informing them that "the Prince sent to Captain Carteret, deputy governor of Jersey, to banish all of the Parliament's party out of the island; and to impose a new oath upon the inhabitants; and that he would send them relief out of France." And likewise, "that Captain George Carteret, Lieutenant Governor of Jersey, was very cruel against the parliament party."[2]

[1] State Papers, vol. ii. p. 290.
[2] Whitelocke, 250, 251.

But the transactions of this eventful 26th of March are not all told. The governor and the chancellor, on the breaking up of the States, returned to the Castle, where they had left artificers busily employed in mounting guns on the ramparts of the new outwork.

Little more than nine months have elapsed since the commencement of this extensive fortification; and now, in spite of all manner of impediments, it is nearly completed—an enduring testimony to the talents and energy of Sir George Carteret, on whom, and on whom alone, devolved not only the task of directing the works, but the still more arduous duty of providing funds for the payment of the workmen; no money being forthcoming from any other source than that created by his own industry. No wonder, therefore, that he sedulously fitted out privateers, and sought the best market for his prize goods.

One of the chief difficulties he had to encounter, next to raising money, was that of procuring a sufficient number of hands for carrying on the works, which, in consequence, were often interrupted. But being, as we are told, a first-rate man of business, equal to any emergency, he soon discovered the means of overcoming this obstacle, without departing in the slightest degree from his fixed principle—that of acting, on all occasions, in strict conformity with the laws and customs of the island, which were still strongly imbued with the relics of feudalism.

The governor, fully aware that certain inhabitants of six parishes were bound, in virtue of their tenure, to afford personal service, or supply substitutes, to assist in repairing and strengthening the fortifications of

Elizabeth Castle, proceeded to exact from them the fulfilment of their obligation.[1]

Many of the vassals being mere hedgers and ditchers, were made use of in scarping rocks, digging trenches, throwing mounds to form the *terre-plein* of the bastions, and revetting the new ramparts with sods—a vocation to which most of them had served an apprenticeship under Lydcott. The handicraftsmen, on the other hand, were continued in the exercise of their several callings: if masons, they were employed in building stone bastions, and parapets; if smiths, there was iron-work to be wrought, and tools to be made and repaired; if carpenters, there were gun-carriages, and platforms, barracks, wickets and pallisades, to be constructed; for which latter purpose timber grew in abundance on the confiscated estates. Common labourers, who could do nothing else, found occupation in felling and carrying timber to the Castle, or to St. Aubin's Tower, also in process of renovation.

At the eleventh hour, when the fort has assumed a threatening aspect, the Prince of Wales, according to promise, sends over his engineer: a native of Flanders, and, *horresco referens*, a papist—nevertheless, a great proficient in the theory and practice of fortification. His presence gives a fresh impulse to the work in hand; to the importance and efficiency of which he yields assent; but he suggests that it will be incomplete without a barbican, or *tête-de-pont* in advance of the drawbridge, to enfilade the causeway connecting the Castle with the

[1] "L'on faisoit venir des six paroisses," says Chevalier, "qui sont sujet aux Douvres, du Chateau Elizabeth." This term "Douvre," a vernacular corruption of *œuvre*, is synonymous with the French word *corvée*, and equivalent to the English "drudging days, or bind days, due by vassals to their lords."

main land, so as to protect the gateway from sudden assault. He testifies approbation also at the heightening of St. Aubin's Tower, but hints that it will be an improvement to erect a stone pillar in its centre, to give stability to the gun-platform on its summit.

With his practised and critical eye, he inspects the works at Mont Orgueil, but finds them not likely to be improved by alteration. He likewise visits, *seriatim*, the coast defences, pointing out, as he goes, where a breastwork may be thrown up with effect—where a battery erected to impede hostile disembarkation. But when he comes to the ledge of rock constituting the violet bank, he unhesitatingly confirms the advice of his predecessor, and a new fort is speedily undertaken in consequence,

Sir Edward Hyde, in the mean time, no less astonished than the engineer at the rapid progress of the Castle outwork, inspects the mounting of two double culverins, one brass, the other iron, abandoned by Lydcott in his hasty flight, and three "long guns," one brazen, and two iron, in the newly opened embrasures; he then retires to his chamber to write a letter on the subject to his friend Lord Hopton. "And therefore I will tell you that, (it is hard for you to believe), how near the fort is finished, the guns are already in, and the ditch almost digged, so that this week will finish it. The tower at St. Aubin's is near done; the masons will have done this week; so there is no more to be done than what concerns the carpenters. The next week we shall go about our other fort, and the hospital at St. Hellier's, which must be the receptacle of our sick men. Nobodys courage fails them but our Engineer's, who is a pitiful fellow; and so frighted with an apprehension of an

enemy's coming, that he came yesterday to the Governor, and desired him to let him go. But he told him it was impossible; but assured him, if the worst came, he would cause him to be safely landed in France."[1]

In a few days a small quantity of arms, and about five-and-twenty English soldiers, arrive from France—"reformados," sent over by Lord Jermyn to the assistance of his lieutenant, by command of the Prince of Wales, who thus redeems the pledge he has recently given to the States. The reinforcement is most seasonable at this juncture, as a larger garrison is required on account of the greater extent of the present fortifications, as well as from the necessity which exists for mounting strong guard, especially at night, and for manning the ramparts in all directions with sentries.

The governor, although "his courage does not fail," lives in constant anticipation of being attacked by the rebels; who, as he rightly calculates, will be much incensed as soon as information reaches them that their stores and ammunition, intended for Ireland, have fallen into his hands. He has, however, spies in various parts of England, even in London itself, whose interest it is to catch every floating rumour that may concern the islands. Huge packets of letters are transmitted to him every week from France, the contents of which he divulges to none but his trusty counsellor, Sir Edward Hyde: but, in his mercantile transactions with English and foreign traders who flock to Jersey, he seeks to worm out whatever political gossip they may have picked up in their travels.

He holds a council of war every Thursday, discusses

[1] Clarendon MSS. March 26th, 1647.

with his colonels and captains various momentous questions, and makes dispositions for defensive operations. He, in person, inspects his dragoons, examines their arms, accoutrements, and horses; insisting on their being fully armed with pistol and carbine, ready for boot and saddle at the first sign of alarm. He reviews his artillery and infantry; remodels their array; looks narrowly to their arms and ammunition, and enters into the minutest details with regard to guard-mounting and patrolling.

He bestows the like attention on his naval armaments; presides at the States; suggests a vote of thanks to his royal highness for his gracious care and condescension in sending reinforcements; and, at the same meeting, appoints a day of humiliation and atonement, to propitiate the "King of kings, the Lord of lords, the only Ruler of princes." In short, he exerts so much activity, and displays such wonderful knowledge of affairs, particular and general, that our simple-minded chronicler marvels how—

"One small head could carry all he knew,"

and blesses his stars that he is born to mediocrity, instead of to that eminence which entails such arduous and multifarious duties and exertions.

Sir George's friend, Mr. Chancellor Hyde, who has already commenced "building himself a convenient lodging in the Castle," dividing his time between the continuance of his History and the superintendence of his workmen, is beginning to be ill at ease; and, in contemplation of an approaching invasion, suspends his historical pursuits, on the 3d and 4th of April, to make his "last will and profession;" to write valedictory

letters to his wife and friends; and to give particular directions as to the disposal of his papers and the very small remnant of his worldly goods.

Hyde, at this period, is labouring under a fit of gout, as well as a fit of despondency, the one probably the concomitant of the other; and, on the 16th of April, writhing as he writes, informs Lord Hopton: "we expect Mr. Nicolls every day, who, as I presume, will call on you in the way; and then we shall know more of the business I gave you an account of in cipher by my last."[1]

This Mr. Nicholls, so frequently mentioned in the correspondence of this period, and about whom we some time ago undertook to give further information, is no other than Mr. John Nicolle, a Jerseyman, who for the last six months has been residing in Paris, seeking to obtain repayment of the money "frankly lent to the Prince on his coming to the island." The business in cipher, alluded to in the foregoing extract, is most probably this very loan, concerning which Hyde has lately written to Mr. Secretary Nicholas, thus indignantly:— "The Prince borrowed here sixteen hundred and fifty pistoles, of which not one penny is paid (March 7th); and if the Governor could but receive that he would desire no more."[2]

Jermyn, however, to whom Hyde no doubt alludes, is much more honest in his dealings than he gives him credit for: he, as queen's purse-bearer, pays the money to the Jersey agent by instalments whenever he can obtain it from the French; and on the 21st of April Mr. John Nicolle makes his appearance in the island with the balance, amounting to twenty thousand livres.

[1] Clarendon, MSS. [2] State Papers, vol. ii. p. 345.

This he places in the governor's own hands, who having, after a fashion, as we have seen, reimbursed the islanders, by offering them confiscated lands, thinks himself authorized to retain the balance, in order to meet current expenses.

But Sir George's *employé*, besides acting ostensibly as a dun, during his sojourn in Paris has been directed to keep his ears open, and to snap up every unconsidered trifle of news that may transpire at the French court, or at St. Germain's. This he has doñe assiduously, transmitting letters in cipher regularly every week to Sir George, who is thereby made acquainted with the state of affairs.

The weather was exceeding stormy this year towards the end of April, which rendered it unsafe for parliamentary ships to quit their stations at Guernsey, and off Cape Frehel. Moreover, they had no soldiers on board; Ireland absorbing all disposable troops, and the rest of the army not being on the best of all possible terms with the House of Commons: consequently, no immediate attack upon Jersey was to be apprehended. The chancellor, recovered from his panic and his gout, writes one of "his jolly letters" to Lord Hopton, containing the following paragraph, in reply to some hint of impending danger:—

"We are yet safe, and untouched by your frigates; and it was unkindly done to make us liable to so vile an attempt as six frigates could make upon us. If they mean us ill I wish they had this week assaulted us with their whole navy, and all their armies; for, so continued a storm from Monday to this hour, did I never know,—which has done much damage, as you would have found if you had lain in your old chamber in the castle, the

covering of which is quite blown off, from that side towards the sea; to the hurt of our peas which lay over. And our wise men say that if the same winds have been in England, their fear of a famine will not be repaired by harvest." [1]

Another letter, in his usual and more formal style, written on the same day, is evidently intended to impress Lord Jermyn with a favourable opinion of his vice-governor, as a set-off against complaints from other quarters. It is likewise interesting, as it affords a clear insight into the existing state of affairs.

"Sir Edward Hyde to my Lord Jermyn.[2]

"Jersey this 25th of April (S. V) 1647.

"My good lord

"I thank you for your kind letter by Mr. Nicolls, and agree with you, that those which have least business, and most kindness in them are most pleasant, in these so busy and unkind times. And as I have no occasion or capacity to trouble you with the first, so the last, even my kindness, is so useless and impertinent a thing, that the often talk of that to you cannot be without some trouble; and, therefore, I disturb you with it no oftener than my good manners invites me to do.

"For the public, I am as ignorant in all particulars as, confounded in the general, save only in what your Governor sometimes, in friendship, confers with me about, as he hath done lately in what you have directed concerning Guernsey, in which, as far as I can observe, he is as solicitous as the importance of that place (Castle

[1] Clarendon, MSS. [2] Ibid.

Cornet) requires. And if the King had never had less active and dextrous governors, I am confident his dominions had not been now reduced to this pretty [*sic*] island. In earnest, though no man can be so fit for it, I cannot but many times pity the vexation and trouble he undergoes, insomuch as in a week together, though I am admitted into the family, I scarce see him; and in longer time find him not at leisure to walk a quarter of an hour.

"From London and St. Maloes (where many fugitives of this island inhabit) he receives every day alarums and intimation of invasion, and hath little encouragement to keep up his spirit, but his confidence in your lordship; and, therefore, as I know you will never suffer him to be disappointed, in any real and substantial matter, so you must on all occasions give him assurance of all particular, and personal kindness, and affection. For, I must deal freely with you, I have never seen him heartily cast down, but I have, at the same time, discovered some apprehension that your affection hath been lessened to him; though, it is true, that melancolique hath not seemed to dwell long in him. I am sure he merits a great part in your heart, and, if you wanted other evidence, you might make some conclusion of his devotions to your commands, by his extraordinary kindness and civility to your lordships most affectionate, and most obedient servant

"Edw Hyde."

The strife of the elements having subsided, the political atmosphere now assumes a portentous aspect; and a factitious storm of thunder, lightning, and hail, threatens to break over the island. On the 6th of May

a man-of-war of about three hundred tons, mounting six-and-twenty pieces of ordnance, with a pinnace of six guns, arrives and casts anchor in the roadstead, before Elizabeth Castle, but well out of range of its guns. A white flag is displayed on the poop of the larger vessel, in token that she comes with pacific intentions, at least for the present; and she fires a salute of three guns, to which Sir George does not vouchsafe a rejoinder, not considering the compliment intended for him. A shallop bearing a flag of truce is then despatched to the fortress, having on board a herald-at-arms, and a trumpeter.

A party of soldiers meet the herald at the landing-place, bind a handkerchief over his eyes, and conduct him thus blindfolded, after the most approved fashion, into the presence of the governor. All forms being gone through, to give him an imposing idea of the formidable nature of the place and its defenders, the bandage is removed from his eyes, the governor and his staff receive him with all courtesy and consideration due to an ambassador of peace; and, directing that the choicest fare the fortress affords shall be placed before him, the governor retires to examine the despatches, and impart their contents to the council of war, already assembled.

The herald, in the meantime, is sumptuously entertained, it happening to be a day on which a grand banquet is to take place at the Castle, to which all the grandees of the island have been invited. The less favoured trumpeter, much to his vexation, is detained on board the shallop, over which sentries are posted, to prevent him or any of the crew from holding communication with a single individual in the castle. These in-

dignities, however, are soon forgotten, as he is regaled with wine and good cheer, transmitted to him from the high table.

The despatches which occupy the attention of the governor and the council of war, consist of a summons from Lord Warwick, "superintendant of the English navy under the Parliament,"[1] requiring Captain George Carteret, in the name of the committee, to deliver up the island and the castles to "the king! and the parliament;" and also of a private letter from Governor Russel, of Guernsey, in which he professes the highest regard and esteem for Sir George Carteret, and requests the liberation of a certain captain, taken by one of his Irish officers; offering in exchange a liberal equivalent of royalist prisoners. We are fortunate enough to discover, among the unpublished Clarendon papers, the following replies to both these despatches; the latter is endorsed, "a short letter to an anonymous person, in which the summons was enclosed;" and by Chevalier's aid, we identify Governor Russel with this "anonymous person."

"Sir George Carteret to the Earl of Warwick

"Castle Elizabeth this 6th of May. 12 at noon.

"My lord

"I receaved your Lordship's of the 5th of February but this very morninge at 11 of the clocke, so that it hath not bene my faulte that you receaved an answer no sooner. For the propositions in it, I presume your Lordship made it only in obedience to that power which injoyned you so to doe, and not in expectation that I

[1] Chevalier is too much of a royalist to acknowledge the Earl of Warwick by his title of Lord High Admiral.

would (to take up a suppositicious [*sic*] and famed delinquisie) make myselfe a reall and avowed villayne by betrayinge a trust, for which I will not have the least excuse but that it would prove most profitable to me; which, if I had ever considered, your lordship cannot but know, I might have been amongst the summoners and not the summoned.[1] But as I am very sure that I have done my duty, so I know my constancy in doing so, is the only way to preserve your lordships reall good opinion; your lordship beinge a person of that honour and justice that you can only abhour me for doinge any thinge unworthy,

" my lord, your lordship's most humble servant

" GEO. CARTERET."

" Sir George Carteret to Colonel Robert Russel.

" 6th May 1647

" SIR,

" I have receaved both your sealed letters of the 5th of this moneth, and to that concerninge your Captaine lately taken by an Irishman, it was not possible you should heere of him heare, ther haveinge bene never an Irish shipp in this harbour since I had the honour to commande heare, except only one which brought a recruite to this Garrison from the Marquesse of Ormond, when his Highness was heare; nether hath this place the least correspondence with that kingdome, or those persons by whome it seemes your Captaine hath bene

[1] A sharp rebuke this for Lord Warwick, founded on Carteret's refusal to act as vice-admiral under him. The rebuke is probably suggested by Sir Edward Hyde, at his elbow as he wrote.

unfortunately taken. If by any accident he had bene brought hither, he should have had much civil usage, as would have given him no cause of complaint. If you please to convey the inclosed to the Earle of Warwicke, his lordship will by that receave my answeare to that inclosed in your other, which is not an argument of any secrecy. Nether doe I desire it should be soe to you, least it might begett the same opinion you had, I know not by which mistake, once entertained, as I found by your letter to Sir Baldwin Wake, that I have offered to deliver this island up to the parliament, of the error whereof I presume you are now satisfied.

"I am, &c.

"GEO. CARTERET."

By four o'clock in the afternoon, these replies are delivered to the well-feasted herald, who is forthwith reconducted to his shallop; the formality of blind-folding being now dispensed with, probably for the purpose of enabling him to make a *reconnoissance*, on his way back, and report as to the impregnable aspect of the castle. A sharp intelligent fellow is this herald; rather lame, it is true, and halting in his gait, but monstrous fluent with his tongue; replying with great wit and readiness to whatever questions were put to him, and very gratefully expressing his thanks for the attention and hospitality he had received.

In reference to this affair, the following passage, in a letter from Sir Edward Hyde to Mr. Secretary Nicholas,[1] fully corroborates Chevalier's account, and contains further particulars.

[1] Lister's Life of Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 50.

"Jersey the 10th of May 1647

"On Thursday last two parliament ships came and anchored within cannon shot of the castle, having first hung out a white flag, and then sent a boat with a trumpet, and the master of one of the ships, who brought these two wise enclosed letters; to which our governor presently returned these answers, both of which he sent unsealed; the which no sooner came to the ships than they weighed anchor, and bid us farewell.

"Tell me, if you can think, what the meaning of so ridiculous a summons can be. Is it only to give satisfaction to those who importune them to do something in order to reduce us, or is it a prologue to something in earnest? The which I cannot think them prepared for, or are they so foolish as to split themselves upon such a rock? That clause in it, of freedom of trade, methinks, looks as if they expected some overture to be made, and a cessation, though they put in the delivery up of the island, which sure they could not be mad enough to expect. Whilst their ships were here, two lusty boats we sent two days before with provisions to Guernsey (Castle Cornet) returned safely hither;[1] so, with what we shall add the next dark moon, that place will be safe for this summer. The people

[1] The following entry by Chevalier elucidates this sentence:—"Le septième jour du mois de Mai, les deux bateaux qui avoient partis de Jersey le 29e du mois dernier, pour aller porter des provisions au château Cornet, lesquels y arriverent par un beau clair de lune. Ils n'osoient aller decharger devant la porte du Château, comme ils avoient faits les autres fois, craignant d'être aperçus de ceux de Guernésey, apprehendant leurs cannonades, ils allèrent donc derrière le chateau, en deux petites criques, y décharger leur provisions, comme ils y avoient dechargés autrefois."

there are very ready to rise, and are weary of their new masters, if they had any assistance or direction from the castle. But, the truth is, Baldwin Wake, though he be honest, has neither discretion or sobriety to manage such a work. I would there were a wiser in his place, and then, I'll pawn my life, we would easily reduce it (Guernsey).

"I had forgot to tell you, the seamen who brought the trumpet, and the master of the ship (and were entertained with wine from the castle) said they perceived the King and this island were both of one mind, and that neither of them would consent to their orders. They all spake with more duty, and good manners of the King, than their letters have used to do; and said they doubted not they should live to see him again at Whitehall."

The solution of one of the problems contained in the foregoing letter, namely, whether the summons is the prologue to an attack in earnest, is to be found in Whitelocke's "Memorials." "May 1st, 1647. Six thousand pound, and ammunition ordered for Colonel Rainesborough for reducing Jersey.—May 12th. The ordinance passed for six thousand pound for Jersey. And the Lords desired to pass the commission to Col Rainesborough for that service; and a letter to Portsmouth and Peterborough that his forces were to be removed from thence."

Sir George's secret emissaries in London confirm the intelligence, and further inform him that the Commons have voted twelve thousand men for the service in question; that numbers of volunteers, tempted by the hope of plunder, are expected to join the armament before it

quits England; and that, as the squadron is to touch at Guernsey for provisions, more recruits are likely to be obtained from thence; it being well known that the inhabitants of the islands having embraced opposite sides, much enmity prevails between them.

On the receipt of these alarming tidings, the governor redoubles his energies to place his island in a complete posture of defence; he is assisted by Colonel Digby,[1] younger brother of Lord Digby, who, leaving his father, the old Earl of Bristol, at Rouen, comes over specially for that purpose. Under their combined efforts the militia is re-modelled, more extensively armed, and more sedulously disciplined. The *corps d'élite*, which has long enjoyed the title of "the Governor's company," is formed into a light brigade; and another is raised, consisting of a couple of hundred of picked men, called in distinction "The Prince's Own." The cavalry also is subdivided into a troop of light horse, armed with pistols and sabres, and a troop of dragoons with carbines, in addition, slung at their saddle-bows, enabling them to fight on foot as well as on horseback, on emergency. The light horse is commanded by Captain Paynton; the dragoons by an English officer whose name is not transmitted to posterity; and a pretty sprinkling of English and Irish reformado captains is infused into the insular standing army.

The horses, too, are trained as well as the men—brought to stand fire, and to obey the bit; taught to walk and trot, in a manner worthy of troop horses; to wheel, to countermarch, to deploy, to concentrate, to

[1] General Sir John Digby, who was at Pomfret Castle during the second civil war, when a party sallied out and murdered Colonel Rainsborough at Doncaster.

gallop furiously at the *pas de charge*, and to rein up, when, the first blast of the trumpet sounds a retreat.

Sir George, regardless of fatigue, visits the out-stations in person, at all hours of the night and day, to make sure of the sentries being at all times on the alert. As if to test their vigilance, one fine morning just at break of day, the watch on the north-western frontier descries three large ships of war, and six or seven smaller craft, in the offing, steering a course towards St. Ouen's bay, from Guernsey, where it has long been reported that the hostile squadron was to touch; "whereof the greatest and of most force is the Convertine, that carryeth two and forty pieces of ordnance."

A ship of the latter description heaving in sight among the rest, the privateersmen, on the look-out from the cliff at St. Brelade's, declare her to be the Convertine; and, naturally enough, conjecture that the approaching vessels form the vanguard of a hostile squadron. It is high time therefore to fire the beacon, and put the match to the alarm gun.

The signal is taken up by the next station, and repeated from post to post. The tocsin clangs from the steeples of the neighbouring village churches; drums beat to arms in every militia district; the light horse and dragoons are soon upon the spot, and the artillery and infantry are on their march. Captain Paynton, acting aide-de-camp to the governor, rides full speed to town to apprise his excellency of an enemy's fleet being at hand, and that a landing may be expected from one moment to another.

In the mean time, the strange ships come close in shore, and a brisk fire is exchanged between them and the island troops, but without any serious result to either

party. During the turmoil Sir George reaches the scene of action, and proceeds to reconnoitre. Comprehending at a glance that this demonstration on the part of the rebels is, as usual, a mere piece of insolent bravado; and that, even if a landing was intended, it has been frustrated by the effectual resistance of his troops; he orders them to cease firing, and withdraw beyond reach of the enemy's shot, (which ploughs up the soil far in the interior,) but nevertheless to remain under arms. At length, finding that the ships are getting under weigh, he dismisses his soldiers, praises them for their promptitude on this occasion, and exhorts them not to relax in their vigilance; observing that, although the present affair has been a mere *fanfaronnade*, the next may prove more serious.

The Convertine, in company with the shallops, takes her departure for Guernsey, leaving the two frigates to cruise on and off the coast, which they continue to do for a day or two.[1] No armament, however, leaves

[1] One of these frigates, name unknown, carries fourteen guns, and is commanded by a certain Captain Green; the other is the Lily, of six guns; both well known depredators on fishing-boats and traders in these seas.

Captain Green having information that corn is beginning to be scarce in Jersey, and that several barques are expected from France, laden with grain, lies in wait for them and intercepts them, but only captures one out of five; the four others arrive happily in Jersey, and their cargoes avert the famine with which the inhabitants are threatened. On board of this scapegoat, however, there happen to be a couple of unfortunate Jersey factors: it is in vain that they declare the cargo to be French property; in vain they produce "a charter party" to this effect. Green suspects that they have a double set of papers, and failing to elicit the truth by what he deems fair means, has recourse to foul. In order to make them confess, he causes the factors to be tied by the arms to the capstan bars of his frigate, twines a slow-match between their fingers, sets fire to it, and allows it to burn till it scorches the flesh even to the sinews (jusqu'à ce qu'il rotissoit la chair, et fricassoit

Portsmouth, and no hostile fleet disturbs the tranquillity of Jersey for the remainder of the summer. The parliament is too busy with the army and its adjutators to undertake the reduction of the piratical island for the present, and having satisfied the Jersey malcontents of their readiness to oblige them, the vote of money for the intended expedition is rescinded, and on the 28th of May "Colonel Rainesborough is ordered to go down to his Regiment, to stay them where they are, till further order." [1]

As soon as the news of this reprieve reaches Jersey, Chevalier, indulging in many pious and sage reflections on the merciful goodness of the Almighty in averting so dire a calamity, records the circumstances of the miraculous deliverance of the island from long-pending invasion, as follows:—"Lorsque leur armée fut assemblée et prête de s'en venir à Jersey, l'Eternel changea leur cœur, et dissipa leurs desseins; tellement que leur entreprize fut rompue et detournée de nous, par sa divine Providence; et le Général Ransbéro, qui dévait venir pour chef, fut rappelé par les Messieurs du Parlement et son armée dissipée, et le dit Ranesbéro employé à d'autres affaires."

les veines). In spite of this cruel torture the sturdy Jerseymen persist in their original assertion, that the corn is the property of French owners. At this critical juncture, a couple of French men-of-war, on their way to St. Ma'oes, heave in sight and come to the rescue. Captain Green's conduct appears to them anything but justifiable; they therefore take possession of him and his frigate, which they take along with them into France, where Green is accused and imprisoned on a charge of piracy, and obtains his release, but not without much delay and difficulty, only through the influence of the parliamentary agent in Paris, our late correspondent, R. Augier, to whom he states his case, claiming protection as a British subject.

[1] Whitelocke, p. 252.

The glad tidings diffuse universal joy throughout the island, and give fresh zest to the rejoicings which take place at Elizabeth Castle in celebration of the seventeenth birthday of the Prince of Wales. The ceremonies, it is true, are not so imposing as when his highness paid his first visit to the town of St. Helier's; nevertheless, there is much pomp and circumstance observed, for an important event commemorates the day: the new outwork, barbican and all, completed on the 20th of May, is inaugurated on the 29th; its embrasures for the first time emit the flash of ordnance, and it receives the appropriate title of Prince Charles's Fort, in honour of its illustrious founder. Amias Andros is appointed captain, in reward of his long-tried loyalty, and Mr. Nicolls succeeds to the vacated office of admiralty judge.

A sumptuous banquet being spread in the great hall of the upper ward, the constituted authorities of the island partake of it, in company with the chancellor, old Sir David Murray, Sir Henry Mannering, Sir Edward Stawell, Sir John Macklin, and other distinguished English exiles; whilst the soldiery, the tradesmen, and invited guests of low degree, are feasted in other parts of the castle. These sacrificial ceremonies concluded, to the satisfaction of all parties, the garrison man the ramparts; hosts of spectators line the parapets; wine flows in abundance; the health of the King, Queen, Prince of Wales, and other members of the royal family, is drunk with loud acclamations, amid repeated discharges of ordnance and musketry; and Charles's Fort from this day takes rank among the defences of the island, and still retains its name.

Now that hostilities are suspended, our indefatigable and accurate journalist having leisure to turn his atten-

tion from military to civil affairs, reverts to the subject of the mint set up in Jersey some twelvemonth before, which at that time promised to become a profitable financial speculation. The manager, Colonel Smyth, he informs us, originally a landed proprietor, and a man of good family in England, had been, before the troubles, master of one of his majesty's provincial mints, and by virtue of his office an honorary privy councillor. On the breaking out of the civil war he commanded a regiment in the king's service, but, at its termination, fled with hundreds of others into France; from whence he came to Jersey, with his wife, and a large train of domestics, during the Prince of Wales's sojourn in that island. Being desirous of exercising his former profession, and, moreover, provided with dies and other coining implements, he succeeded in establishing a mint under his royal highness's sanction and the countenance of the governor, but not, as we shall see, under the patronage of the chancellor of the exchequer.

In a few months the concern turned out to be an utter failure, partly owing to mismanagement, partly to an alleged scarcity of bullion. Smyth, a person of expensive habits, who kept up an extravagant private establishment, becoming deeply involved, was forced to dispose not only of his household goods, but of the greater part of his machinery, reserving merely the dies he had brought over with him. Towards the end of May he again sought refuge in France, intending, as he said, to send his wife into England to compound for his sequestered estates.

Chevalier, although he admits that Colonel Smyth, "étant à Jersey, fit de la monnoie de quoi je ne dis rien," is a firm believer in the actual existence of a mint from

whence were issued coins of gold and silver of legal tender. Misled by his assertions—on all other subjects rigidly accurate—we confidently bestowed considerable time and industry in seeking to obtain specimens of the St. Georges, jacobuses, half-crowns, and shillings so minutely described, and alleged to have been struck in Jersey. The perusal, however, of the subjoined letter dissipated the illusion—proved that the mint was a Mississipi Scheme, a South Sea Bubble on a small scale; and, that the master thereof was little better than a swindling adventurer: thus accounting for the non-existence of the coinage in any numismatic collection.

"Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Edward Nicholas.

* * * "I will tell you a tale of which it may be you may know somewhat; if you do not, take no notice of it from me. When we were in Cornwall, Colonel Smyth (who was Sir Alexander Denton's son in law, and taken in that house) having obtained his liberty by J. Ashburnham's friendship upon such an exchange (one of the councellors of Ireland) as would have redeemed the best man, came to us from the king at Hereford. To me he brought a short perfunctory letter from my lord Digby, but from J. A. to my lord Culpeper his dispatch was of weight; his business to erect a mint at Truro, which should yield the king a vast profit;—Mr. Browne, J. A.'s man (who was long a prisoner with him); the king's dues by a special warrant (which I saw) to be paid to Mr. Ashburnham.

"What he did in Cornwall I know not, for you perceive he was to have no relation or reference to me, which, if you had been Chancellor of the Exchequer, you would

have taken unkindly. Shortly after the Prince came hither he came to us, having left Cornwall a fortnight before we did. You may imagine my lord Culpeper was forward to help him, and how he promised to set up his Mint, and assured us that he had contracted with merchants at St. Malloe to bring in such a quantity of bullion as would make the revenue very considerable to the Prince. We wondered why the merchants of St. Malloe should desire to have English money coined. He gave us an answer that appeared very reasonable; that all the trade they drove with the west country for tin, fish or wooll, was driven with money; and therefore they sent over their pistoles, and pieces-of-eight, in which they sustained so great a loss, that their merchants had rather have this bullion coined into English money at 20 in the hundred than take the other way.

"After several debates, in which (though there seemed no convincing argument to expect great profit from it) there was not the least suggestion of inconvenience, he pretending that he had all officers ready at St. Malloe, and such as belonged to the King's mint, and likewise his commission under the great seal (for he produced only the warrant under the sign manual), the Prince writ a letter to the Governor, Bailiff and Jurats to give him countenance, and to assign him some convenient place to reside in. Shortly after the Prince went away, the Colonel proceeds, brings his wife hither (who in truth is a sober woman) and takes a little house remote from neighbours, but pretended that the Prince's remove and other accidents had hindered the advance of the service, but that he hoped hereafter to proceed in it. Here he lived soberly and reservedly; and after two or three months here was found much adulterate money, half-

crown pieces which had been put off by people belonging to him. One only officer he hath, an old Catholic, one Vaughan, who is a good graver.

"The Governor (who is strangely civil to all men but immoderately so to such gentlemen as have seemed to serve the King in this quarrell) was much perplexed, the civil magistrates here taking notice of it (the base money) and sent to him to speak with him, told him that he believed his education had not been to such artifices; and that he might be easily deceived by the man he trusted, who was not of credit enough to brave the burthen of such a trust; that if this island fell into suspicion of such craft, their trade would be undone; and therefore (having shewed him some pieces of money) desired him by no means to proceed in that design, till satisfaction might be given by the view of such officers who were responsible for it. The Colonel denied some of the pieces to be of his coining, but confessed others, and said, it was by mistake too light: but I had forgot to tell you that he had assured me two or three days before that he had yet coined none.

"To conclude, (though much troubled) he promised the Governor not to proceed further in it. Then he came to me, and told me a long and untoward discourse of a great trust between the King, Mr. Ashburnham, and himself, and one more, which he would not name, but led me to believe it was Mr. A.'s friend at Paris, and that the design was originally to coin dollars, by which he could gain a vast advantage to the King. He found me not so civil as he expected, and therefore easily withdrew, and the same day attempted the Governor, and offered him a strong weekly bribe (enough to keep you and me and both our families very gal-

lantly) to join with him, and assist him. His reception was not much better there, so that he has since procured a good stout letter from the Prince, to command the Governor, Bailiff and Jurats to give him all countenance, and to advance the service. This will put an end to it, for the Governor will deal freely with the Prince, though upon the confidence we have still naughty new money. The reason of the Governor's exceeding tenderness, is his duty to the King, to whom such a communion (which indeed is a strange one) would draw much dishonour. Tell me if you know anything of this, and whether you think your friend so wise, and careful of his master's honor as he should be: beyond this say nothing of it, except to my lord Hopton, who can tell you how scurvy a thing it is

"EDW HYDE.

"Jersey Feb. 24th 1647"

There is some discrepancy between this account of the affair and Chevalier's; not so much, however, considering that one writer was before, while the other was behind the scenes. The two narratives combined complete the history of the Jersey Mint—a history evidently discreditable to certain personages, and therefore never intended to meet the public eye. Even the unsophisticated chronicler is intuitively aware that some mystery attaches to the transaction, which prevents him from writing with his usual unreserve.

The month of June being arrived, the Jersey vice-admiral discovers that he is likely to pay dearly for the good luck hitherto attending the efforts of his cruisers. The parliament, provoked beyond measure at the capture of their Irish store-ship, have given an order for a

letter to their agent in France "to seize the Pyrate and restore the ship." But neither "pyrate" nor prize having put in at any port in France, as they imagine, their ships are ordered to be on a sharp look-out "to keep in pyrates;" and directions are sent to R. Augier, to remonstrate with the French government on its unfriendly conduct in giving countenance and shelter to royalist privateers. The ultimate result of this remonstrance is, that the King of Great Britain and the Prince of Wales are constrained to revoke commissions at sea; and this not being sufficient to remedy the evil complained of, the King of France issues the following edict, and causes the same to be published in every maritime town in the kingdom.

An official translation of this edict has slumbered undisturbed, for upwards of two centuries, among the Clarendon papers—it is time that it should take its proper place in the history of the period.

"By the King.

"His Majesty having received divers complaints that there are Captains of ships arming to sea by virtue of some commissions from the King of Great Britain, and the Prince of Wales, his son; who, though the said commissions be recalled continue notwithstanding their depredations upon the English Parliamenteers, and bring their prizes within the ports, and havens of France, where some merchandizes, thus taken, have been sold contrary to his defences, and at under rates, to the great detriment of the owners thereof, who know not upon whom to reclaim their said losses; HATH thought it fit to give a present remedy thereunto, in causing his pleasure to be known in that particular.

"His Majesty hath declared and declares all the said Captains arming to sea, (all whose commissions have been revoked) for Pirates and Robbers at sea; and as such forbids them the entering of his ports, and the shelter of his roads. And in case any of them should be so rash as to come in them, or bring in any prizes, his pleasure is, and he orders, that they may be immediately restored to the owners that shall reclaim them. And that the ships and equipages of such men-of-war, and pirates be confiscated. He forbids again all his subjects from buying such stolen merchandizes, and that all such as shall be found in kind, or the true value of it be restored to the true owners, as well for the time past, as for the future.

"His said Majesty desires the Queen Regent his mother, possessing and exercising the place of great master, chief, and superintendant general of the shipping, and commerce of France, to see that this be put in execution: commands, and gives orders to all his Lieutenants, Generals, particular Commanders of maritime places, their Lieutenants, and other officers whom it shall appertaine, not to permit or suffer that anything be done contrary to these presents. Which for this end, and that none may pretend cause of ignorance, shall be registered on the rolls of the Admiralties; read, published and set up in Ports, and public places of towns all along the coasts of France.

> "Given at Amiens the 20th of May 1647. Signed Louis, and lower, De Lomenie. And sealed with the arms of his Majesty."[1]

[1] Clarendon MSS.

In the meantime Captain Chamberlain, totally unconscious of these adverse proceedings, has been industriously and successfully cruising off the coasts of England and Picardy, in Sir George's galley. Some of his captures he has sent to Jersey, others have been retaken by the protective squadron, and one he himself tows into Boulogne—for adjudication, as he expects; but to his consternation and disappointment, on entering that port, the prohibitory edict stares him in the face. Chamberlain, brave and enterprising as he is,—"cependant il avoit le cœur noble et faisoit toujours grosses piaffes,"—by some mischance or other, never prospers in his undertakings; he is not born under a lucky star.

Under existing circumstances, unable to dispose of his prize, he cannot satisfy his sailors, who, clamorous for wages, since they cannot share the spoils they have been greedily anticipating, become ultimately mutinous, and two-and-twenty of his crew desert. A portion of them take service on board of parliament ships, which are waiting in the offing for the galley as soon as she comes fairly out of port, the remainder make their way overland back to Jersey; so that Chamberlain is left with only seven or eight seamen, a number insufficient to navigate or defend the vessel, in the teeth of a watchful enemy.

At Boulogne, he meets with many others in a similar predicament; among them Captains Brown Bushell, together with Smith and Johnson, who have been furnished with pataches by the Cherbourg people, on condition of sharing in the plunder. But, the untoward edict having put a stop to the sale of prizes, "the pataches are of no avail, and the captains are in the position of millers whose sluices have been suddenly dammed up."

They all frequent the same house of public entertainment, compare notes, carouse, vent curses, not loud but deep, against both the English rebels and French authorities, and finally club the remnants of their crews to man the galley, and cut their way, if need be, through the blockading squadron. "Bran Bouchel," as Chevalier calls him, together with Smith and Johnson, take passage with Chamberlain, and reach Jersey in safety. The three former remain about a week, but finding that nothing is to be done there in the way of their calling, they proceed to Ostend, are placed in command of picaroons by the Spaniards, and seek to avenge themselves upon the French, by committing depredations on the commerce of that nation. As for Chamberlain, being a great favourite with Sir George, he is lodged and entertained at Elizabeth Castle; the galley is hauled up on the beach, and her guns, sails, and rigging, are deposited in store, until better times come round.

The whole of Carteret's cruisers are now coming into port; most, if not all of them, bringing in prizes. On the 13th of June, Amy and Gernet make a triumphant entry into St. Aubin's roads, decorated with a profusion of flags of all colours, forms, and sizes, taken out of ten or twelve captured merchantmen that follow in their wake. Their triumph, however, is of short duration; on landing they learn that commissions at sea are suspended, and that they must be now content to play a less exciting game. In a short time the guns are landed from the frigates, the ruffling crews are paid off, and the vessels themselves are laid up, repaired, and transformed into unarmed traders; henceforth to pick up a livelihood honestly, if they can. The prizes, nevertheless, having been captured before

the revocation, are most of them condemned and sold. Before the proceeds are expended, it is expected that something else may turn up more congenial to the tastes and habits of the privateering gentry.

The suspension of roving commissions, independently of the French king's edict, was a serious blow to Sir George Carteret; depriving him of his chief source of revenue, and thereby rendering it more difficult to maintain his already precarious position. In reference to this subject, Hyde writes as follows to Hopton: "And this sudden revoking of all commissions at sea by the Prince without giving him (Carteret) any notice, has much disturbed him. For, you know, those good fellows, the keeping of whom costs him nothing, were a great part of his strength in time of trouble. And though the promiscuous granting commissions to all men of all nations might be very scandalous, and was very inconvenient to this island, they all going under the name of Jersey men-of-war, when they never came hither, nor brought one penny profit to the place, and were regulated by no jurisdiction,—yet to suppress those who immediately attend this place, when the inhabitants every day suffer by the parliament, is, methinks, to bind their hands, or take away the only weapon by which they can infest their neighbours.[1] But no doubt they

[1] This passage explains the innumerable references in Whitelocke, to depredations committed by "Jersey Pyrates." The Jerseymen, like the stork caught in the fowler's net, suffered in reputation from having frequented bad company. "*Dis moi qui tu hante, et je te dirai qui tu es*," says the French proverb, and assuredly the "good fellows" who formed great part of the governor's strength in time of trouble, were not the most respectable; but although he indulged in privateering speculations to a large extent, it does not appear that the inhabitants themselves participated in them, or derived much profit from them. The captains and crews of his frigates were almost entirely composed of

have great reason who advise it; and yet my lord Jermyn sends word it shall continue but six weeks."[1]

What may have been the motive for limiting the cessation of Jersey privateering to the short space of six weeks, as stated by Lord Jermyn, it is impossible to ascertain, and difficult to imagine. At all events, nothing worthy of notice occurred in that island, during this peaceful interval, excepting the arrival of Richard Fanshawe and his lady.

After remaining for some little time with Sir Thomas Fanshawe at Caen, during the autumn of the preceding year, Mr. Fanshawe went to pay his duty to the Prince at St. Germain's, while his lady and her sister Margaret proceeded to England to make arrangements concerning their property. Being connected by blood, as well as marriage, with several families of distinction, Mrs. Fanshawe had little difficulty in obtaining the restitution of a certain portion of her own property; but it being impossible to compound for her husband's estates during his absence on the Continent, she, through the interest of her connexions,[2] procured a pass for him to rejoin her

English, French and Flemish mariners; and Chevalier doubtless expresses the general feeling of the islanders, when speaking of the system of privateering, which he laments, although sanctioned by ancient custom, and countenanced by kings and rulers, he says: "Si c'etoit deux nations étrangères qui se feroient la guerre, on imputeroit cela à juste prix; mais de voir une même nation, et de même religion ainsi acharnés les uns contre les autres, c'est ce qui ne se voit pas, même parmi les animaux d'une même espèce, (même les plus farouches),—de les voir, dis je, se detruire ainsi les uns les autres c'est quelque chose de déplorable; et un témoignage certain que le Dieu tout puissant est grandement courroucé contre nous, si nous ne le flechissons par nos prières, afin qu'il detourne sa colère dedessus nos têtes criminelles. Dont je le prie de cœur et d'affection, et avec un zèle ardent, qu'il nous fasse la grace."

[1] Clarendon MSS.

[2] "Colonel Copley, a great Parliament man."—Memoirs, p. 78.

in London. Thither, after taking leave of the Prince, he proceeded, and was greeted warmly by all his relatives[1] and friends. As he did not urge the subject of compounding for his estates with much pertinacity, he remained unmolested by the parliament, living comfortably with his lady on her income, which, though far from considerable, was sufficient to place them above want.

The domestic happiness of this exemplary couple being, however, incomplete without their little daughter Anna, left in Jersey the preceding summer, they determine upon a voyage to that island, and arrive there on the 23d day of July. The infant, who has thriven amazingly under the fostering care of its nurse, and the matronly superintendence of the governor's lady, is restored to the arms of its doting parents. Mr. and Mrs. Fanshawe spend about a week in Elizabeth Castle with Lady Carteret, and having remunerated the nurse for her care and attention, take passage for France, carrying their little daughter with them, and from thence return to England.[2]

The chancellor, taking advantage of Mr. Richard Fanshawe's departure, and aware of his intention to wait

[1] Sir Thomas must have been among them at this period, for we find by a letter from Ledison (Secretary Nicholas) to Sir Peter Osborne, on the 2d of May, that, "Sir Thomas Fanshawe hath a pass to return for England, whither himself intends to go Monday next; but his lady and children he leaves here (at Caen). He shews many reasons why he is necessitated to go himself, rather to free some of his friends, who are engaged for him, than to preserve his estate; he is certainly a very noble person, and much your servant."—Osborne Papers.

[2] With the exception of dates, Chevalier's account harmonizes sufficiently with that in Lady Fanshawe's memoirs; we however rely on the accuracy of the former rather than that of the latter as to time, the lady's chronology, like that of the Duchesse d'Abrantes, being mainly regulated by the birthdays of her children.

on the king at Hampton Court, entrusted him with a letter to his majesty, published in the state papers.[1] This letter, dated Castle Elizabeth, 27th July, O. S, contains a paragraph relating to the affairs of the Channel Islands, which requires to be quoted:—

"Among your Majesty's prosperous counsels (since these distractions) there are very few in which you have greater cause to rejoice, than your disposing this island to the government of this prudent and dexterous Lieutenant Governor, who reduced it not with greater skill and discretion than he hath kept it. Truly, the part he hath acted in your service hath been a right good one.

"I beseech your Majesty give Mr. Fanshawe leave to give an account of the state and condition of this excellent island, and of the other of Guernsey, where the castle is still kept for your Majesty, and hath hitherto been preserved by the diligence and activity of Sir George Carteret, who is like to find it more difficult than it hath been; for since the discontinuance of your men of war of this island, out of an expectation and hope of peace, the Parliament ships have not only kept a stricter guard and watch upon the castle than formerly, but have more infested this island by taking boats and disturbing trade; so that if it shall please God not yet to vouchsafe a peace to your dominions, it will be necessary to know your Majesty's pleasure (which may easily be derived by Mr. Secretary Nicholas), whether your good subjects here shall be liable to the acts of hostility by the Parliament's ships, without

[1] State Papers, vol. iii. p. 371.

setting out men of war equal to infest their neighbours; for want whereof Castle Cornet will be in danger. And if these distractions should continue, (which God forbid!) the recovering that, and keeping all these islands in your obedience, may prove of greater importance than, I conceive, hath been heretofore apprehended."[1]

Before this remonstrance has time to reach the king, at that time amusing himself between Hampton Court and Oatlands, the temporary prohibition against "setting out of letters of marque" has been rescinded by the Prince of Wales.

All is again bustle and activity in Jersey; the ships, in process of reluctant conversion into harmless traders, are speedily refitted for the exercise of their former bold career; sails, guns, ammunition and other warlike stores are re-embarked; and the "good fellows," recently paid off and laid on the shelf, are again in requisition. The vice-admiral, with Bowden, Amy, Chamberlain and the rest of the sea-captains, are laying their heads together, projecting fresh adventures. Bowden, however, it must be remarked, no longer condescends to command in person, since he has been created an esquire by the Prince of Wales, but remains on shore,

[1] Lord Hopton, it is to be inferred, must have written in the same tone and on the same subject to the king, for we find a letter addressed to his lordship at Rouen, dated Oatlands, August 12th, without signature, but clearly assignable to Richard Fanshawe, which refers to Hyde, and contains this passage: "For the importance of Jersey he (the king) gives you many thanks for your advice, as well knowing it, and will endeavour to preserve it, having already given order to Lord Jermyn about it, and doth highly value the loyalty and service of Sir George Carteret and his family."—Lister's Life of Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 53.

the sleeping partner of less dignified and more active spirits.

The first resolve of the naval council of war is to send a ship to surprise and "cut out" one of the parliamentary frigates moored on the bank at Guernsey. Amy's galley is selected for the service: in addition to her five cannon and patereroes she is well armed with muskets, pistols, cutlasses and boarding-pikes, and manned with a double crew of seventy resolute fellows, all picked men. Amy himself goes in command, Chamberlain acts as first lieutenant, and two or three more captains officer the ship on this occasion. They set sail on the 4th of August, all in high spirits, picturing to themselves how they shall run alongside the enemy; take him unawares; throw their grapplings into his chains, and board; before his crew is prepared for resistance. Much sooner said than done,—"Chose aisée à promettre, mais difficile à accomplir,"—soberly observes Chevalier.

Shaping their course north-eastward, and arriving off Castle Cornet, some time after night-fall, they send to inquire of the garrison where the frigates are lying, and are informed that they have not been seen from the fortress all day, being probably at sea; but that there is a large parliament ship of forty guns moored within a short distance. Not daring to disturb so formidable an antagonist, and finding that there is no mischief to be then done, with the night fast waning, they determine to postpone their enterprise to a more favourable opportunity.

As they are off Serk, on their return to Jersey, about day-break, one of the frigates they are in quest of is discovered, anchored under the shelter of that island,

They make her out to be the Hart, a vessel belonging to Lord Warwick[1], carrying double the number of guns and twice the number of men that they do. Nevertheless, they bear down upon her, and as they approach, she weighs and comes to meet them, showing but a small portion of her crew,—the rest are concealed between decks. The two ships, as they sheer past, exchange some broadsides, but the galley has the worst of it; she being a low-built craft with a flush deck, cannot bring her guns to bear so as to do much execution, whereas her crew are exposed to the full fire of the enemy.

Amy and his colleagues, conscious of being overmatched, sheer off, and imagine a *ruse de guerre*. It is blowing hard at the time, in a favourable direction; the galley runs before the wind, and the frigate without hesitation gives chase. The former, the faster sailer of the two, soon reaches a group of rocks,—the Paternosters, *les pierres de Lecq*, within a league of Jersey—and may easily escape; but this is far from being the desire of the fearless mates on board, who shorten sail, strip off doublet and hose, in order to fight more at ease, and like brave fellows prepare for action: intending so to manœuvre, that the enemy, unconscious of danger, may strike upon a sunken rock, in the course of the engagement which is about to ensue.

The frigate, having shifted all her guns to starboard, soon comes up, and pours in a sharp broadside, which is returned with most destructive purpose. The two vessels then come to closer quarters, exchange volleys

[1] The following year this very "Hart Frigat revolted to the Prince, and the sea-men set the Captain on shore." The latter went to Jersey, and took service with Carteret.

of grape shot, while, keeping up a running fight, they range along the coast of Jersey to the eastward. When the galley approaches *le Havre de Bonne nuit*, she runs in, endeavouring to decoy the frigate after her. The Hart having no pilot on board acquainted with the locality, and there being every chance of her encountering a rude shock to no purpose, her commander declines the invitation, and putting about, returns to Guernsey, leaving his adversaries to console themselves for their disappointment as best they may.

The very day on which this daring galley sailed from Jersey, Capt[n] Blaize came from St. Maloes, and anchored under Mont Orgueil, in a brave new patache, built expressly for him,—he and his crew all papists and Frenchmen, picked up here and there. From Cherbourg arrived Captain Gernet, in a new fast-sailing craft, of which he was commander and part owner, his co-partner being a certain individual of the name of Baudoin, an ex-apothecary, who had sold off his stock-in-trade—bottles, gallipots and all, to invest his capital in privateering. The ports of France being still closed, and the sale of prizes still prohibited, these two depredators resorted to Jersey to obtain roving commissions, which the vice-admiral was again empowered to grant.

Many more of these rovers flock to Carteret's standard, the only flag that can protect them in these parts; and in a short time the parliament exclaim loudly against the depredations committed on English commerce, confounding all privateers whatsoever under the denomination of "Jersey pyrates." The injury is the more provoking, as they cannot yet afford to reduce the island, and cannot make reprisals as they might have done on a powerful nation,—the Jerseymen having

no rich cargoes afloat to be captured by their men-of-war. But the complainants forget that they themselves were the aggressors, that they first set the example in the Irish Channel,—and that, during the late suspension of royal commissions, they have unsparingly molested the Jerseymen, not disdaining to despoil their fishing-smacks and subject the crews to torture.

"We could not," says the historian Falle, "avoid falling under the odious denomination of pirate, among them who happened to be sufferers by us, although in reality we were not enemies to England—and God forbid we ever should. We were only so to the rebels,—to those who themselves were enemies to their king; wherein we behaved no otherwise than will always become good subjects, placed in the like situation, as it was then our misfortune to be.

"And here we have an example, which, methinks, should never be forgotten, but remain a standing admonition to England, of the danger to it from these islands, supposing them possessed at any time hereafter by the French. For, if a governor of Jersey with a few small privateers, could make himself so formidable,—what would not a vastly greater naval power of France, stationed in these islands, (as most certainly they would be)—what, I say, would not such a power be able to do?"

Before taking final leave of this branch of our subject, we may perhaps be permitted to hazard the hypothesis, that George Carteret's privateering speculations, which enabled him to maintain the royal cause, may have suggested the like course of proceeding to Prince Rupert.

Carteret is assuredly Rupert's predecessor, if not his prototype, in this self-supporting system of warfare.

Practising on a smaller scale, and in a more limited arena, he acts on the defensive as well as the offensive,—molests the rebels, because he is molested by them, but respects neutral flags; and when Dunkirk or Ostend rovers bring Dutch or Flemish prizes into his admiralty court for adjudication, he refuses to condemn the captured vessels, restores them to their rightful owners, releases the crews from bondage, and sends the captors, unhonoured, away. Never does he exercise, or permit to be exercised, any sort of cruelty or oppression on those whom the fortune of war has placed within his power; on the contrary, Chevalier records that much clemency was shown to these unfortunate people; and the assertion is the more worthy of credit, as the honest old chronicler does not hesitate to condemn the governor's acts of political oppression. Carteret, moreover, is a genuine vice-admiral, appointed by royal patent as early as 1644, when Charles the First was actually king of England, and still sovereign of the "greatest road of commerce in the known world."

Rupert's commission, on the other hand, as admiral of the revolted fleet, is not, like Carteret's, "a deed under his majesty's sign manual and the seal of the admiralty," but merely an appointment from the exiled and unrecognised Prince of Wales: it is not, therefore, altogether a legitimate document, and he being no respecter of flags, his proceedings savour more strongly of buccaneering. If he wants means to man or victual a ship, or if his mariners "become more mutinous than usual for want of pay, he sends them out to catch a ship for themselves,—the first that heaves in sight; they are seldom particular about the flag." When Charles (filius) titular King of England is inclined to accept Ormond's invitation

to Ireland, but cannot set out for want of funds, his cousin the Palatine "very coolly sends out and catches a Dutchman worth 10,000*l.*, which he sends to the fugitive king as travel money,—the Dutch being, at the time, their very particular (almost their only) friends." But, to do him justice, Rupert is not more cruel than Carteret.

Each, however, figures in his time and sphere as a bold, vigilant, enterprising partisan; each commences naval warfare when that on land has utterly failed; each supports himself, and the cause he espouses, by his own "formidable industry," not only receiving no money from the king, but on the contrary supporting him, and the greater part of his exiled followers. Rupert's exertions, it must be observed, are personal and active; Carteret's, are passive; both are forced by circumstances into commercial transactions, the one trafficking in sugars, elephants' teeth, and indigo, the other in dried fruits, alum, and scarlet cloth, "ell wide without the selvedge." Both act as bankers to the exiled prince and his needy courtiers; in the first instance, if they want an advance, application is made to Carteret with an intimation that none are to be trusted but "honest Jerseymen;" in the second, when the young king "prevails upon some merchant to cash a bill for him, it is always drawn upon Prince Rupert; and a frigate is despatched for means to honour it."[1]

This digression brings us to the beginning of the last week in August, when we find that Sir Edward Hyde,

[1] Warburton's Memoirs of Prince Rupert, vol. iii.

who has numerous correspondents in England and in France, is receiving large packets of despatches from both countries, by way of Cotainville, between which port and Jersey a boat is constantly going and coming, hired at one pistole per voyage.[1] Many of the letters contained in these packets, and the answers, are written, not in the ordinary way, but in "strange characters, which none but those who have a key can comprehend." In spite of these hieroglyphics, however, Chevalier contrives to learn the rumours current in relation to English affairs, which come with more freshness from his pen than any translation would possess; and as French is no doubt intelligible to most of those who condescend to read these pages, little apology is needed for giving the original version.

"Il y vint ici à Jersey des nouvelles de differents endroits, tant de bouche que par lettre, que l'armée de Messire Thomas Fairfax, General et surintendant des armées du Parlement, étoit une partie dans Londres, avec le dit Général, et ce pour apaiser quelque dissentions, qui s'etoient mués dans la dite ville, entre les deux sectes, l'une s'appeloit Presbytérien et l'autre Independent; et craignant que cela ne causat quelque combustion dans Londres, le Parlement manda Sir Thomas Fairfax, pour prévenir et apaiser ce desordre: lequel, à son arrivée, fut reçu avec de grands applaudissemens; lequel, sitot son arrivée, toutes dissentions cesserent, car tout ployait devant lui. Il plaça une garnison à la Tour de Londres, et un Gouverneur à sa guise; il avoit le Roi en son armée, lequel il avoit

[1] This fact is frequently alluded to in Hyde's letters from Jersey.

laissé dans une de ses Maisons Royales, avec Cromwell, qui etoit Lieutenant General, sous Fairfax, lequel n'avoit point d'ordre d'amener le Roi en Londres, le Parlement ne l'avoit point commandé."

Most of the English royalists residing in Jersey rejoiced mightily at this news, believing that the differences between the king and the parliament would now be settled, and flattering themselves with the hope of being soon enabled to return to their own country, and restored to their estates. Some, however, who were not so sanguine, thought that his majesty's detention at Hampton Court and his not being allowed to enter the capital, boded no good, but quite the reverse.

On the 25th of August Mr. Harding,[1] a relative of Sir Edward Hyde's and a friend of Sir George Carteret's, arrived from France. This gentleman had recently quitted England, but before leaving, paid his duty to the king, who, on learning his destination, charged him with messages to the chancellor, the governor, and the rest of his loyal servants in Jersey, exhorting them to bear with patience and resignation the misfortunes it had pleased God to inflict on him and them; but recommending them to take comfort, and trust that, in good time, all would go well. His majesty furthermore requested Mr. Harding to assure Hyde and Carteret that the aspect of affairs was improving; and there was every prospect that the calamities which had so long distracted his unhappy kingdom would ere long be terminated by a blessed peace. In confirmation of

[1] Dick Harding, one of the grooms of the bedchamber to the Prince.

these cheering, but fallacious predictions, Mr. Harding reported that many royalist prisoners in London had been released; that his majesty's friends were allowed free access to him, and that he was treated with much consideration and respect by the officers of the army.[1]

Mr. Harding took his departure for France, after remaining about a week in Jersey, where the glad tidings he had brought diffused general satisfaction; a feeling much increased when the report of approaching pacification was all but confirmed by Captain Cherwell, an officer of Sir Baldwin Wake's. The captain, who had been sent to St. Germain's with despatches, landed at Jersey on the 12th of September, on his way back to Castle Cornet, bringing letters from the king to the chancellor and the governor, which had been transmitted to Paris, from whence the Prince of Wales took this opportunity of forwarding them to their destination.

In the letter to Hyde, his Majesty informs him, as Chevalier tells us, "que Sir Thomas Fairfax lui avoit fait promesse de le rétablir honorablement en ses Royaumes et dominions paisiblement; et qu'il l'avoit laissé avec Cromwel, Lieutenant sous le dit Fairfax, et qu'il espéroit que dans peu de tems tout iroit bien, tant

[1] Little did the governor or any of them suspect that, at this very moment, the rough draught of a document was in Fairfax's possession, purporting to be an agreement between his majesty, the parliamentary general, and the army, for the settlement of peace, and which contained a clause, whereby it was stipulated, "that Sir George Carteret, and other notorious delinquents be banished this kingdom during life, and their estates be sequestrated for three years, and after the three years shall be expired, the said estates to be finally settled on their posterity." This document, not being signed by the king, his majesty is not necessarily chargeable with ingratitude towards his loyal governor of Jersey. —Fairfax Correspondence, edited by Robert Bell.

à son avantage que pour le bonheur de son peuple; et que s'ils entendoient quelques nouvelles du contraire, qu'ils n'en prissent point d'avis."

There can be little doubt, that this is the letter which his Majesty wrote to the chancellor of the exchequer with his own hand from Hampton Court,[1] and to which he replied three days after its reception.

"Sir Edward Hyde to His Majesty.[2]

"15th September

"May it please your Majesty.

"The day that I shall have the blessing to kiss your Majesty's hand can be but the holy day to which Saturday last was the eve, when I had the honour to receive your most gracious letter of the 19th of August. I were unworthy of the comfort and joy it brought me, if I could express how great it was, and is, and will ever be to me.

"Your Lieutenant Governor here is equally confounded with me at the sense of your Majesty's high favour, and that you have vouchsafed to take him into your gracious consideration. Indeed, he is so much the fitter for a place in your Royal memory, that he will never put you in mind of himself, having the most publick, and the fewest private thoughts, that I have observed in any Gentleman.

"If your Majesty would receive any information of this good island (which is a most valuable part of your dominions, even when you are entirely possessed of all the rest), or of Guernsey, Mr. Hinton (who hath like

[1] Life of Clarendon, vol. i. p. 202.
[2] State Papers, vol. ii. p 375.

a faithful servant born his part in your Majesty's pressures as honestly and dutifully as any man) is well able to satisfy your Majesty in all particulars; having with this other honest servant of your Majesty's, Auditor Kinsman, resided here ever since his Highness's coming hither, and before always attended him in the west. God preserve your Majesty!"

"Many royalists of all ranks and conditions," continues Chevalier, "who had been forced to seek refuge in this island, finding that there was no longer any impediment to their revisiting England, took their departure about this time; some going to the king, others retiring to their estates in other parts of the country. Mr. William Hinton and the Auditor both quitted Jersey on the 7th of October, the former to join his master, at Hampton Court, the latter to reside in London or elsewhere, as he thought fit.

"These two gentlemen, during a sojourn of a year and five months in the island, had led most exemplary lives, attending morning and evening service daily, in the church, and living entirely in the fear of God. Neither themselves in Jersey, nor their families in England, enjoyed more income than barely sufficed for their maintenance, the remainder having been seized upon by the rebels.

"Mr Hinton,[1] groom of the chamber to Charles the First, had followed his royal master into the field as paymaster of the forces; he was a man of good family and estate in the province of York (Lincolnshire?) in the north of England, having a vast extent of fenny land in

[1] There is a letter to William Hinton from Charles II. in the Evelyn Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 197.

which hundreds of head of geese, and other water fowl were reared; he had moreover one of the largest and best supplied dovecotes in the whole kingdom. His wife was also a woman of large property, so that before the troubles, what with the revenues of their joint estates, and four hundred pounds per annum, derived from his post as paymaster, he was very wealthy. Nevertheless, during his residence amongst us he was reduced to great poverty, until God raised up to him a friend in France who remitted him a hundred crowns, and then a hundred more for his subsistence, so that, although the Almighty held him down with one hand, he supported him with the other.

"Mr Auditor Kinsman, also a native of the north of England, was by no means a person of property, his private income never having exceeded one hundred pounds a year; his situation however as auditor of accounts amounted to between four and five hundred per annum. But, being a prudent man, he had managed to save a sufficient sum, not only to maintain himself in Jersey, but to pay the expenses of his journey back to England."

The only person of note now remaining in Jersey was Sir Edward Hyde, who, not daring to venture into England, and fearful of meeting with but a cold welcome, if he repaired to St. Germains, continued to reside with his friend the governor at Elizabeth Castle. Here he had built himself a lodging, and here he laboured at his History; occasionally writing to, and in favour of, the king, and frequently importuning his correspondents to supply him with materials for his work.

As nothing of public importance occurs in the island during the months of October, November, and December,

we have inserted a couple of letters from the Osborne Papers, which contain some interesting gossip relating to the affairs of England. The writer is Colonel Henry Osborne,[1] an eye witness of passing events in London, and an intelligent observer.

"Colonel Henry Osborne to his Father, at St. Maloes.[2]

"October 17th, 1647

"SIR

"I was yesterday at court, having some business to the king from my brother now at York, and other gentlemen of that county. After some discourse I told him I had lately received letters from you in which you appeared desirous to have his Majesty's commands, and had given me encouragement to attend for a handsome opportunity to receive them. His reply was verbatim thus:—'I can give you no commands for now I am commanded, but when I shall be in any condition to employ his loyal affections, he shall know that he is a

[1] Colonel, afterwards Sir Henry, Osborne, was a favourite officer of Prince Rupert's, and was deputed by him to present his petition to parliament, soliciting a pass for his highness and his brother Prince Maurice, and to whom he writes the following note, also among the Osborne Papers:—

"SIR,

"I shall desire you to imparte yor Buisnes & contents of that letter directed to the Parliament to Colonell Rossiter, and to advise wth him aboute the same. I am resolved to stay at Bever, untill such tyme as I shall receive a Passe from the Parliament, unles Colonell Rossiter will bee pleased to give mee his safe Convoy to Banbury, wch will bee most convenient for the dispatch of my Buisnes. And, upon that consideration, I shall embrace it, as an act of much Civility from him; the rest of my Buisnes I shall referr to yor care, and rest

"Your loving ffreind

"RUPERT. P.

"29th October 1645."

[2] Osborne MSS.

person I have a very particular regard to. Commend me to him, and tell him I am beholden to him.' So, cheerfully mentioning the rest of his friends in France, and seeming willing they should yet hope to see him restored to a power of helping them, he very graciously parted with me, giving great signs of affection to you.

"What commands else you conceive me capable of, I beg from you; for, though I cannot signify much to your advantage at court, yet I delight in serving you, and may by my faithful endeavours, observing your instruction, hope to be in some kind useful.

"I know you will expect my opinion of the present state of things here; indeed I have correspondence with them that pretend to know much; and I have so much reason to believe them, that I may with confidence safely tell you this. Our hopes rise and fall as the glorious Independents are pleased to smile or frown, flatter or threaten us. They have smoothed us into a presumption of some advantage by them, which was to them a countenance and help in the beginning of their business; and now, having made that use of us, begin likewise to make use of the power they have gotten. In short they seem to indulge the king's party, and to that purpose treat with us upon specious pretences, which begets as large, as vain hopes, but intend us mischief; but if hereafter they do us good 'tis no more than they must, in order to their own affairs, though more than any here expects, observing well their proceedings. All we most depend upon, next Divine providence, is the fortitude of the king, his constancy to his principles and friends, which appear so immoveable that it begets an awe in the very houses, when his name is mentioned;—this from the mouth of a member.

"Though Lord Inchiquin and others in Ireland seem for the present to be quieted, yet I am assured they will not let slip any opportunity to disorder this army, or present Independent parliament.

"The army begins to be very clamorous for money, and for their arrears, which the City is ordained to pay. The City pretends a disability, but indeed shews an unwillingness to pay it; the army desires power from the parliament to levy it by force by way of distress, which in effect is plundering, but I hear that is as much as the City desires and wishes for, and more than the army dare attempt.

"They are very busy in Parliament upon Religion, considering what latitude the regard to tender consciences, mentioned in the proposals of the army, may bear. No doubt if it derogate not from them, though it come within the compass of blasphemy, it will pass.

"From my brother at York I am assured that, instead of the Scots disbanding, so much talked of by the diurnals, and more ignorant people, they are making great preparations to advance."

"Colonel Henry Osborne to Sir Peter Osborne.[1]

"London October 17th 1647.

"The Houses go on with the propositions but slowly; happily they think they have time enough, before the Scotch propositions shall come in. The matter of fact may be seen in the prints;—the secret disposition is that there is no manner of agreement between the king and the army; all this negotiation having produced no other effect, but to incline some of the chief officers not to consent to his destruction, which I believe they will

[1] Osborne MSS.

not unless they be swayed, but cannot observe that they are so thoroughly the king's, as that they will pass the Rubicon for him, which if they would do, considering the inclination of the common soldier, and generally of the people, they might do what they would. But they are cold, and there is another faction of desperate fellows, both in the parliament and army, who are as hot as fire, and of these I am much afraid, they having obtained the sending of such propositions to the king, as he may not think fit to pass. Upon the refusal, they may go on to the execution of the grand design, which is to abolish monarchy and new model the kingdom, and make it good by force. Of this not only I, but the king himself is much afraid, being more troubled and disquieted than ever he hath been. He hath lately sent for the Marquis of Hertford, the Marquis of Ormond, the Earl of Southampton, and the Duke of Richmond to come unto him. I doubt, without the consent of the army, I am sure, without consent of the parliament, where I am told it was yesterday debated, whether they should be admitted or no; what the result is I know not.

"The House only trifles away time, and the army does the same; there is nothing yet grown to a head, and the reason is they are both at a loss. However the parliament will not go less, for they have this week voted 80,000*l.* monthly to be paid the army. It is a great question where they will have it, for the city will part with no money, and the country begins to mutiny. Gloucestershire will admit no soldiers; in Wiltshire the club-men, for I can give them no other title, have in so rude a manner enclosed the committee at Marlborough,

that they were glad to get away through back doors.

"The Lord Fairfax who is lately come to town has informed the Houses that, if they do not speedily take some course with the army there, the whole north will rise upon them. The Duke of Richmond, Marquis of Hertford, the Earl of Southampton, and the Earl of Lindsay are admitted to wait upon the king.

"Some ministers of the City, who refuse ordination, petitioned the House, that they may exercise their gift without it, which is referred to a committee. An ordnance past to send commissioners into Guernesey and Jersey to regulate those two islands.

"The agitators and commanders are together by the ears, for those of Lilburne's faction in the Tower intend to impeach Sir Thomas Cromwell, and the rest; the Houses have the same in agitation against the King. Yesterday came a message to the Houses by Fleetwood, Waller, and another; it is committed, but carried with that secrecy that I can learn nothing of it. The King conceives himself to be in good capacity for himself, and his friends.

"The prisoners that were to be removed from the Tower to other prisons are superseded for a time, upon several reasons, some that are indebted there, and others that are to be bailed.

"Cromwell and Ireton have spoken somewhat lately to have his majesty restored to his rights. The north mutinies against the army there; the Lord Fairfax is come to London about it.

"Our court friends sing constantly the old song, that all will be well. The Lord Fairfax is come post

hither, they say, chased from the north who are ready to rebel against their present masters."

These bright gleams of October sunshine, which warmed the ever-budding hopes of the sanguine royalists into unseasonable maturity, were densely obscured by the frosty fogs of November, and the precocious blossoms fell utterly blighted in December: the king was then a close prisoner in Carisbrook Castle, which intelligence was brought from France by Dr. Henry Janson. This portentous announcement closes our accounts with Jersey to the end of 1647; but before finally dismissing that year, we must return to Paris, to resume our narrative of the Prince of Wales's career, since we left him there in the spring.

CHAPTER III.

PRINCE CHARLES IN PARIS—HIS INATTENTION TO MADEMOISELLE—HER PROJECTS AND CAPRICES—FONTAINEBLEAU—ST. GERMAIN'S—DUELS BETWEEN PRINCE RUPERT, DIGBY, AND WILMOT—DESPATCHES FROM JERSEY TO THE ISLE OF WIGHT—ROYALIST REJOICINGS—PERSECUTION OF MALCONTENTS—REVOLT OF THE FLEET—HYDE LEAVES JERSEY—THE FRONDE—PRINCE CHARLES, INVITED TO IRELAND AND SCOTLAND, GOES TO THE HAGUE—THE FLEET IN THE DOWNS—REDUCTION OF GUERNSEY PROJECTED—PRINCE CHARLES AT THE HAGUE—HIS INTENTION OF RETURNING TO JERSEY—PROJECT AT JERSEY FOR RESCUING THE KING FROM HURST CASTLE.

A FEW days after Easter, which fell on the 21st of April, a fête is given at the Palais Royal, in honour of the Danish ambassador's wife: the same lady who, at the morning levée, taking a hint from Madame de Motteville, gracefully draws off Anne of Austria's glove to admire the softness and delicacy of her hand, and lifts her kerchief to feign astonishment at the dazzling beauty of her neck: elegantly-turned practical compliments, which fail not to flatter her vain but middle-aged majesty of France, who spoke of nothing, for the rest of the day, but the grace and amiability of *Madame l'Ambassadrice*.

At this ball Mademoiselle de Montpensier, notwithstanding her disdainful treatment of the Prince of Wales on former occasions, requested him to lead out

Mademoiselle de Guise, a lady somewhat *passée*, instead of Mademoiselle de Longueville, who was exceedingly anxious to dance with his highness. But Henrietta Maria, in order to pique her supercilious niece, had determined to engage him in a flirtation with another fair dame. At her majesty's instigation, therefore, the *Commandeur* De Jars, one of her French *attachés*, intervened at this crisis, and prevailed upon the prince to play the gallant to Mademoiselle de Guerchi, one of the queen-regent's maids of honour, who, like the rest of her fair sisterhood, had armed and attired herself for conquest, on any terms. Nevertheless, the young prince was not even a temporary victim to her charms; evidently preferring Mademoiselle de Châtillon, whom he would not admit to be inferior in beauty to his partner, even out of complaisance to De Jars, who sought to persuade him to the contrary.

Charles, this evening, is beginning to exercise his own discrimination in the article of female beauty, and to assert an independence becoming his rank and dawning manhood. He resents the many slights put upon him by Mademoiselle, by not inviting her to dance the *courante*, as had hitherto been his custom, and as she anticipated. Her vanity being deeply wounded at this unexpected mark of disrespect, she complains to Prince Rupert, who in vain attempts to soothe her, and she leaves the ball-room unappeased. This being the crowning fête of the season, the prince and princess do not meet again for some time; she accompanying the Court to Compeigne, and he retiring with his mother to St. Germain's.

There had been some talk of late in Paris of the Prince of Wales's taking the field with his uncle, the

Duke of Orleans, on which subject Sir Edward Hyde thus expresses his opinion to the Earl of Norwich: "I have heard by general reports from France, though I have not the honour to have any correspondence with the grandees, of such an intention as your lordship writes, for the Prince to go into Flanders with his uncle. But truly, I do not believe that he will have so much liberty, and opportunity given him to escape out of their hands, if he had a mind to it; and therefore have not much troubled myself with the consideration of it."[1] As Hyde sagaciously surmises, the prince is not allowed to join the French forces in Flanders, on the pretext that it would not comport with the dignity of the heir-apparent of England to take service with a foreign army, even under a prince of the blood. The question is settled in a manner most satisfactory to all parties; the Court, having no confidence in the military talents of the Duke of Orleans, his physicians are shrewd enough to order him to Bourbon, to drink the waters—a prescription decidedly palatable to the cardinal minister, if not to the illustrious patient, who, confessedly, has nothing the matter with him. "The presence of the first personage of the kingdom, always excepting the King, the Queen, and the real Monsieur, with the army, would prevent it from undertaking any brilliant achievement, unless so augmented (and this would be inconveniently expensive) as to secure his life from danger under any emergency; the French being naturally tender of the sons of their kings."

This affair settled, the Prince of Wales's friends are sadly apprehensive of a message from parliament requiring his return to England. The chancellor, how-

[1] Clarendon MSS.

ever, who in his retirement is informed of everything that passes in the political world, sees "no likelihood of it till they use his father better; for while he is kept an absolute prisoner, his highness, if it were his desire, would never put himself into their power.[1] I am very confident, however," bitterly observes Hyde, in another letter, "that the crown of France will join with those that do most desire to continue the miseries of England, and consequently dispose of the Prince's person as they shall find most in order to that. That is, if the King shall desire his return, toward a firm composure of all jealousies and apprehensions, and for disbanding all armies, which they pretend cannot be done, whilst his highness continues in foreign countries, then he shall not have leave to go; but, if the Houses, without the King, send for him to make use of him against his father, then, it may be, he shall be suffered to go."[2]

Neither of these supposed alternatives was offered to the choice of his highness; but then arose discussions relative to his attending the French Protestant service at Charenton. Evelyn describes this "temple" as a "very fair and spacious room built of freestone, very decently adorned with paintings of the Tables of the Law, the Lord's Prayer, and Creed. The pulpit standing at the upper end, having an enclosure of seats about it, where the elders, and persons of greatest quality sit; the rest of the congregation on forms and low stools, but none in pews, as in our churches, to their great disgrace, and nothing so orderly, as here the stools and other cumber are removed when the assembly rises."

[1] Clarendon MSS. [2] State Papers, vol ii. p. 345.

Hyde, who has been written to on this subject by Sir Edward Nicholas, thus replies:—

"'"For the Prince's going or not to Charenton, I can say nothing, having never heard word from Paris, which I wonder at, if it had been agitated there so far as you seem to apprehend it to have been. And I rather apprehend it to be a matter of state, and so, liable to be determined by the rules of fitness or unfitness by those who can judge of all circumstances, than to be concluded against for reasons you spoke of: for his going to Charenton is no more countenancing presbytery against episcopacy, than the sending an ambassador into Holland, is countenancing a republic against a monarchy; neither hath the King or Prince ever raised or encouraged arms against presbytery, but to defend the laws and government established, against any innovation or invasion whatsoever. And I should not think a cavalier of Geneva less culpable to their laws, who would by arms endeavour to erect episcopacy there, (for which you know there wants no title) than I do those who have so unlawfully thrown it down in England."[1]

"Well, Mr. Wilcox,[2] the dispute of the Lutheran church shall be respited till we meet; but, if I had so much French as you, I would not doubt but by communicating and conference to convince the hard-hearted Calvinist at Caen. I never heard a word of the proposition from Charenton, but by your letters, and am heartily sorry that it was made, or that it was not countenanced, after such a pause (which I think was

[1] State Papers, Feb. 12, 1647.

[2] Wilcox, Jo. Wilcocks, Cha. Ledison, Ch. Letherage, Ledison, Gil. Ralisoney (*sic.*), Jo. Gregory, J. Jones, are Mr. Secretary Nicholas's fanciful signatures, together with the ciphers, 430, 460, and now and then a curious incomprehensible monogram.

not prudent). I cannot tell so well what is to be done; but they do there as they are bid, on both sides, for the one durst not ask it, if they had not been allowed, and I believe the other denied by the same advice. Oh Mr. Secretary! I am in charity with all nations under heaven but that you live under."[1]

Notwithstanding his present tolerant mood, the chancellor, some years after, gave a very decided opinion against the Prince of Wales' attending worship at this said Huguenot chapel of Charenton, a subject thus wittily handled by a modern Lord Chancellor. "This matter being debated in council, Charles, who was delighted to be entirely exempted from the restraint of public worship, said, with affected gravity, (having probably first cast a sly glance at Buckingham,) that, upon the whole, he thought the arguments of the Chancellor of the Exchequer preponderated, and that, out of respect for the true apostolic church, to the safety of which his blessed father died a martyr, he would not frequent the heretical conventicle at Charenton."[2]

At the earlier period, however, of which we treat, Charles was as regular an attendant at this heretical conventicle as at the temple of St. Helier's, or the chapel of Elizabeth Castle, during his sojourn in Jersey. He furthermore, "gave worthy Dr. Earles, one of his chaplains, leave to read to him an hour in the day; and Mr. Hobbes to teach him the mathematicks another." He, however, obtains a week's holiday from the chaplain's lectures about this time, for, on the 10th of June, John Evelyn comes down to St. Germain's, "where his majesty, then Prince of Wales, has his court, to re-

[1] Clarendon MSS. [2] Lord Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors.

quest Dr. Earle to accompany him to Paris," which he does, and on Thursday, the 27th, marries him to Sir Richard Browne's daughter, in the ambassadorial chapel. In what manner the Prince amused himself during this short vacation does not appear; it is not likely that he pined after the absent Mademoiselle; if he did, there was no reciprocity of sentiment; the mind of the ambitious princess being too full of the bright vision of becoming Empress of Germany, to bestow one thought on the exiled youth.

Her highness, now with the French court at Amiens, on being told that the Emperor is exceedingly devout, imagines that the most effectual way of pleasing him will be to endeavour to assimilate her habits, if not her sentiments, to his. She accordingly assumes all outward signs of piety, remaining prostrate before the image of her tutelary saint whenever she accompanies the queen in her visits to the various convents and churches. By dint of feigning devotion, she persuades herself that it is becoming real, and, for an entire week, imagines that she has a strong inclination to take the veil in the Carmelite convent of Amiens. During this eight-day paroxysm of sanctimony, she neither eats, drinks, nor sleeps; she forgets the world, even the crown imperial in perspective, and entertains serious thoughts of falling dangerously ill.

Her determination to enter a nunnery, she assures us, does not arise from any sudden fit of spleen or disappointment, *qui s'excuse, s'accuse;* but her father, well aware of her tendency to indulge in all manner of caprices, tells her plainly, when she asks his permission to take the vows, that her present ridiculous freak results from the slow progress of matrimonial negotiations.

She rebuts the imputation; declaring, with mock humility, that "she would rather devote herself to the service of God for the rest of her days than possess all the crowns, regal or imperial, in the universe." Hereupon the royal duke flies into a passion, dashes down his cards, and rates her soundly; bitterly anathematizing the bigots who have put such romantic notions in her head, and threatening to hold her up to the ridicule of the whole court. Not daring to face so awful a tribunal, and seeing that her august parent is in downright earnest, the modern Maid of Orleans surrenders at discretion. The alliance with the Emperor again becomes the general theme of conversation, so that in three days, Mademoiselle, as she herself confesses, has entirely forgotten her recent fit of devotion; and when the court gossips, who have caught a peep behind the scenes, rally her, she rallies in return, and does not blush to deny that she ever had any intention of going into a convent.

In spite of all the talk in courtly circles, there is evidently no advance towards the conclusion of the imperial match. How can there be when the suitor is indifferent, and all the lady's relatives are secretly plotting to prevent it! Impatient at what appears to her such unaccountable delay, she importunes her father to write to Duke Francis of Lorraine, which he does; and the duke expressing his readiness to become her advocate at the court of Vienna, she becomes much elated, anticipating the most satisfactory results from the interposition of a personage of Duke Francis's rank and character.

But in the meantime another matrimonial speculation

is suggested by a French officer belonging to the army in Flanders, where it remains inactive, while Archduke Leopold is fast recovering the strong places, the reduction of which has cost the Duke of Orleans so much time and trouble in the years preceding. Monsieur de Saujon, the officer in question, a visionary and somewhat melancholy captain in the French guards, has been informed by a brother in arms, lately from the enemy's camp, that the Duke d'Amalfi, the hostile general, had spoken in high terms of the heiress of Montpensier, stating that she was much esteemed and respected in the Low Countries, and inquiring whether she was not about to marry the Prince of Wales; a question which was answered in the negative.

Monsieur de Saujon hereupon imagines, that it will be advantageous to all parties to promote a union between Mademoiselle and the victorious Archduke, brother to the very Emperor from whom she is hourly expecting a formal proposal of marriage. The speculative captain loses no time in sending her a letter in which he mentions the conversation at the Duke d'Amalfi's table, and throws out other hints which are not misunderstood by the fair lady. Saujon receiving no answer to his written communication, comes to court and succeeds in obtaining an interview, at which the princess sedulously avoids the subject, but condescends to lecture him on his religious and military duties, and sends him away quite mystified. She nevertheless determines to keep the Archduke in reserve, in the event of his brother's not proposing. Such is the woman selected by Henrietta Maria as the future Queen of England.

Meanwhile the raising of the siege of Lerida has

terminated the war for a season, and the French court, after making an excursion into Normandy, settles down in Paris, about the beginning of July. Mademoiselle, although she has entirely abandoned all idea of taking the veil, continues to assume the character of a devotee. She goes neither to balls nor assemblies; forswears powder, patches, and gaudy ribbons; neglects her *coiffure*, allowing her hair to grow, until it becomes so dishevelled and untidy, as almost to conceal her features; and she envelops her delicate throat and person in triple kerchiefs, at the risk of being suffocated with heat during the dog days. So uncouth was her attire, that she might well have passed for a person of forty, and indeed she is not quite sure, had such a mistake been made, whether she would not have taken it as a compliment, "although she is not half as old." The only book she reads with any satisfaction is the Life of S^te^. Therese, and the only conversation she takes delight in relates to the affairs of Germany. This mode of life, however, as may well be imagined, was too austere, too contrary to her nature, to be of long duration, especially as her affectation produced no kind of sensation. When, therefore, she accompanied the court to Fontainebleau, about the 15th of September, she resumed her former dress and habits, again mingled in society, frequenting balls, plays, and promenades as usual. She fails to tell us whether this fresh vagary has anything to do with the arrival of an expected visitor, we are therefore at liberty to form our own conjectures.

This visitor was the Prince of Wales, who arrived at Fontainebleau towards the latter end of September, by invitation of the king and queen, and they imme-

diately gave a ball in honour of his coming. Five months or more have elapsed since the last meeting between his highness and his supposed lady love, and Mademoiselle, contrary to expectation, finds that his ardour towards her has cooled in some degree; this she attributes to rumours being still allowed to circulate in regard to the German affair,—a most treacherous proceeding on the part of the Court. She has been told that Charles is acting the part of a despairing lover, but does not credit the assertion, and it fails to awaken in her breast any tender sentiment towards him.

Madame de Motteville says that he is vastly improved in personal appearance, and that his misfortunes, arising from the deplorable condition of affairs in England, serve only to heighten his merits, by rendering him an object of tender sympathy. The interest thus excited is much augmented when it is discovered that he admires, and evinces some inclination to form an intimacy with Madame de Châtillon;[1] from which circumstance great hopes are entertained that he may in time become a distinguished character. Charles, however, as yet "displays no brilliancy of wit; he is reserved, and far from fluent in enunciation; no wonder, indeed, for it is a family defect; his father has a similar impediment in a slight degree, and his uncle, the late King of France, stammered dreadfully. Young Louis the Fourteenth, handsome and elegant as he is, also maintains an air of dignified reserve, and says little for fear of speaking incorrectly. Nevertheless, the intercourse between the royal

[1] This lady (*née* De Montmorenci-Bouteville), a twelvemonth before, had been carried off to the French Gretna Green (wherever that may have been) by her existing husband, the Comte de Châtillon, with her own free consent, contrary to that of her parents, but by the advice of the Duc d'Enghien.

cousins is less restrained than on former occasions, and they are much less ceremonious towards each other than they were; to the wonderful relief of the courtiers, who find the task of amusing them much less arduous than heretofore."

Who will recognise, in the above outline, the likeness of the subsequently gay, witty, free and easy, Charles the Second? And yet there is some trace of a resemblance, especially in his admiration of the lovely Madame de Châtillon. It must be observed, however, in justice to the clever writer, that Charles at the French Court, crippled by the shackles of etiquette, scarcely daring to breathe from fear of committing some awful solecism,—was in as unfavourable a position to have his likeness taken, as a criminal at the bar of justice, before the glorious sun condescended to turn limner. Hence it is, that the sketch, hastily dashed off by the pen of Anne of Austria's favourite *dame d'honneur*, although taken from the life, could not have been a genuine portraiture of Charles at this period.

His royal highness returned to St. Germain's, after a sojourn of four days at Fontainebleau, just in time to interrupt a duel between Prince Rupert and Lord Digby.[1]

[1] De Larrey,* quoting from Wicquefort, alludes to this abortive affair between the Palatine and Digby, in connexion with the prevalence of duelling among the French as well as the English; the former, even those of highest rank, being infected with a sort of mania for personal encounters of the most savage nature. The Bishop of Sarlat, De Larrey states, horrified at finding that a contest of six French gentlemen against half a dozen others, their own countrymen, had been in contemplation, but happily prevented, exhorted the Queen Regent, from the pulpit, to put a stop to such sanguinary displays of false courage, by punishing seconds as well as principals with the utmost rigour. Her

* Histoire de France, vol. i. p. 346.

An actual encounter, however, took place between the last-named nobleman and Lord Wilmot; and particulars of both affairs are narrated, *con amore*, by Daniel O'Neile, a led-captain of Lord Digby's, in a letter to the Marquis of Ormond, dated on the 9th of October, from St. Germain's.[1] The letter, which is a long one, reads more like a chapter of romance than a narrative of actual facts, and reminds one that "fact is strange, stranger than fiction;" but, as it tends to illustrate the history of the exiled royalists in France, we shall endeavour to extract the essence of this characteristic epistle.

"Having had the honour to wait on my Lord Digby hither to Paris," says the truculent Daniel, "and to have been made choice of by him to serve him on those occasions which have occurred to him here, I thought I could not do a more acceptable thing to your Lordship (whom I take to be much concerned in him) than to give you a punctual account of all those passages concerning his Lordship, which have been, and are likely to be, the great discourse of these Courts for a few days; for the exact truth of which I do engage myself to your Lordship."

Lord Digby, being on his journey from Rouen to Paris, learns that Prince Rupert is come two nights before to St. Germain's, from the army; and his highness being the only person from whom his lordship has any cause to suspect resentment, he prepares for any accident that may occur. He is likely, however, to have

majesty, in obedience to ecclesiastical mandate, issued severe decrees; nevertheless, hostile meetings were of constant occurrence within the precincts of her court, among the officers of her army, and among the English nobility.

[1] Carte's Collection, vol. i. p. 146.

other business of a similar kind on hand before he reaches his destination. About a league from "Esquye," where Lord Digby and his party, consisting of the Bishop of Derry, Mr. John Digby (Sir Kenelm's younger brother) and the writer of the letter, are to stop and dine, they meet "Mr. H. Rainsford running post, with a great *espée de duelle au costé*, a strange sight in France," as if he were either posting from a duel or to one. They exchange salutes with the gentleman of the long sword, and dine at Esquye; but, just as they are going to horse, a coach drives up to the door with a footman of Lord Wilmot's, and a servant of Mr. Rainsford's, both of them "denying either of their masters to be there." The Bishop, nevertheless, suspects that there is certainly some design of meeting Lord Digby to quarrel, "which his Lordship laughed at, and I much more," says Daniel O'Neile, "conjecturing that it was either a secret journey to Dr. Wingstone, at Rouen, to cure his gout, or a meeting with a banished Presbyterian friend, or with some lady of honour."

The merry party reach "Manye, and all lying that night in my lord's chamber where there were four beds *à la mode de France*," his lordship's accredited second is aroused from his first sleep by the announcement that, a gentleman of his acquaintance, just come from Paris, desires to speak to him "suddenly and secretly." Dressing himself in haste, he goes to the place where he was told the gentleman expected him, and there finds my Lord Wilmot and Mr. Rainsford. After a few ceremonies, his lordship informs him that he had been seeking Lord Digby at Rouen, and not finding him there "had sent Mr. Rainsford post before with a challenge to him, on account of his having written letters to his prejudice

unto the Queen; for which injury he desired Lord Digby should make him satisfaction with his sword in his hand."

O'Neile, who has much more of the peace-maker in his composition than we gave him credit for, continues thus:—"Much amazed at his Lordship's language, I demanded whether my lord Digby had writ any thing to his prejudice since the last reconciliation the year before at St. Germains, before many honourable persons by the Queen's command; he answered, 'not that he knew.' I told his Lordship that those letters he complained of were printed half a year before the reconciliation,[1] and that they were then the grounds of his Lordship's quarrel; and that in my opinion, he did ill to revive dead businesses." Lord Wilmot replies that he had not seen them at the time, but having done so he is determined to receive satisfaction. Daniel tells him that he does ill to acquaint him with a resolution in which he can neither serve the one nor the other, both being his most intimate friends; and that he would "rather be an engaged party than a post to go between, as his Lordship would have him." His Lordship "briskly answers 'I believe you a man of honour, and I desire you to convey to my lord Digby what I have told you as my second;'" and furthermore tells him that his unwillingness arises less from friendship towards himself, than from his entertaining doubts as to Lord Digby's courage. "At which," writes O'Neile, "Twissoge of Ulster's blood grew warm, and told him that, since no reason would sway him, I would convey all that was modest of his errand to the lord Digby; that his lordship should have satisfaction; and

[1] This quarrel is evidently grounded on letters found in Lord Digby's cabinet, taken at Sherborne, and published by order of the parliament.

that I would be a second,—but it should be against him. He pressed the meeting should be the next morning, as he said, for fear of prevention; I told him, that was the way to have no meeting; but I assured him, since he had so unnecessarily engaged me, he should have what he aimed at. After much heat we parted, having engaged myself his Lordship should have my lord Digby's answer the next morning."

By eight o'clock on the morning of the 4th of October, the promised answer is delivered to Lord Wilmot, wherein Lord Digby tells him that it will be the best way, in order to avoid trifling away both their honours, that they shall meet at St. Germain's as if nothing had happened, and that when suspicion is lulled they shall mutually receive that satisfaction "which is the proper decision betwixt men of honour, when once they are past the season of *esclaircissements* by discourse."

They meet accordingly at court without any outward display of hostility; but Lord Wilmot, aware that a very pretty quarrel is pending between Prince Rupert and Lord Digby, on the subject of the intercepted letters, and apprehensive that his highness may obtain precedence, perseveres until he gains a personal interview with Digby, in order to persuade him to fix time and place. After much courteous argument on both sides, the impatient nobleman consents to postpone the happy day till "the Wednesday sevennight after, at the Lord Digby's return from Fontainebleau, which was the soonest his Lordship could promise himself, that he should be disengaged from suspicions and have a fair pretence to go to Paris." Lord Wilmot, however, stipulated that Digby should not give anybody the like satisfaction before that time.

The following morning, however, about nine o'clock, O'Neile is sent for hastily by Lord Digby, who informs him that "Prince Rupert has sent him word by M. de la Chapelle that he is expecting him with his sword in his hand, at the cross of Poissy,[1] a league off in the forest, with three of his company. His lordship had sent away Monsr. la Chapelle with this reply, namely: that the Prince proceeded most generously with him; that it was true if his Lordship could have provided himself, without danger of interruption, he would gladly have waited on his Highness on horseback, in regard of a weakness in his hurt leg, much increased at present by his having lain so long in the wet in an open boat at sea;[2] but that he was so sensible of the honour his Highness was pleased to do him, that he would rather *se trainer sur le ventre* to him, than miss it; and that he would instantly wait on him as soon as ever he could get on his cloaths, and provide himself of the company necessary."

Daniel O'Neile, as a matter of course, formed one of the party, and Mr. Bennet[3] another, whom Lord Digby "sent unto his highness, humbly to beseech him, that he would not be displeased if the Lord Digby were forced to make him stay half an hour or an hour upon the place longer than his Lordship could wish, in regard that having no horses of his own, he could not make enquiry for any without hazarding a discovery; which, rather than do, he was resolved to walk thither on foot, unless his Highness would be pleased to send the horses he supposed he had with him, to meet him

[1] Five leagues west of Paris, in a charming position on the borders of the forest of St. Germain's.

[2] Was not this the true reason for postponing the duel with Wilmot? He durst not refuse an invitation from Prince Rupert.

[3] The future Earl of Arlington.

some part of the way." A third auxiliary was still wanting when Lord Jermyn came to Digby's lodging to inform him that he was aware of the intended meeting, and that order had been taken to prevent it. Digby at first denied the charge, "but finding there was no other way to get free, told the Lord Jermyn that he must needs grant him one of two requests, either to suffer him to steal away to receive the honour unto which P. Rupert had so generously called him, or else that he would be of the party himself." This he refused, telling Lord Digby with some passion that if he were to be of the party it should be against him.

In this dilemma a certain Major Bunkelye was engaged, who accompanied his principal and Daniel O'Neile to the place of meeting. "As soon as we came to the forest side," says the latter gentleman, "we there met Mr. Bennet with Prince Rupert's horses, who had received him and his message with much nobleness and civility. But as soon as his Lordship's foot was in the stirrup, we were all arrested by the Queen's guards, and by them brought back to the Queen, who by her command restrained the Lord Digby to the house that day. Soon after Prince Rupert with those that would have served him, who were the Lord Gerrard, Monsieur la Chapelle, Mons[r] Gautier, as also the Lord Jermyn, were brought out of the field by the Prince of Wales, who was that morning hunting in the forest."

Public notice being taken of the business, Prince Rupert "most discreetly and nobly declared that he was far from making a quarrel for any thing, however prejudicial to him, that Lord Digby had done as

Secretary of State;" but upon information of some speeches published by him much to his highness's dishonour. The matter being referred to the Lords Culpepper, Gerrard, and Wentworth, and Sir Frederick Cornwallis, for amicable arrangement, Lord Digby cleared himself from the imputations brought against him, to the entire content of Prince Rupert, "and the business was that night concluded in presence of the Queen and the Prince of Wales, much to the satisfaction of both parties."

"Upon the Lord Digby's coming from the Prince of Wales's lodgings, and walking with him to the queen's side, in her Majesty's presence chamber, his lordship whispered to the lord Wilmot, that he hoped he would not be startled at any thing that happened that day, since he might be sure that nothing should hinder him from complying with his Lordship according to his promises. Whereupon Lord Wilmot replied, that if his Lordship had been a person either of courage or honour, he would not that morning have done any thing contrary to his engagement to him. Whereunto Lord Digby made no other answer, than that he was there in a place of sanctuary, and that he did not mean to word it with him."

Lord Wilmot, shortly after, meeting Captain O'Neile, spoke to him in "very sharp and disobliging terms of the Lord Digby," which again so warmed the blood of the descendant of Twissoge of Ulster that he was half inclined to make the quarrel his own, but that he feared to displease Lord Digby. In a short time Lord Wentworth came to him to press for an earlier day than that originally appointed; after some discussion, the time was shortened a week, and the Wednesday

following fixed upon for a meeting "near Madrid,[1] a house of the king's within two leagues from Paris."

"Upon this morning, being Wednesday the 9th of October," continues Lord Ormond's correspondent, "the Lord Digby, Mr. John Digby, our only Monsieur,[2] and myself, were early upon the place, where half an hour before seven of the clock (which was the hour assigned) the Lord Wilmot, the Lord Wentworth, and Mr. Rainsford met us; where, after many civilities passed on all sides, and the Lord Wilmot's and the Lord Digby's entreaties in vain, that the seconds might not be engaged after the French manner to fight, whilst we were unbuttoning, the Lord Digby desired that we would all understand, and bear witness of the quarrel upon which he then should fight.——My Lord Wilmot replied that he did not challenge my Lord Digby upon the old reconciled quarrel, but upon printed letters of the Lord Digby's which he had not then seen, and for what he had said of Prince Rupert, he would prove it false by and by.

"Whereupon out flew bilboes, and to work we went *à la mode de France*. 'Twas my fortune and my lord Wentworth's (who had first professed one another, we had rather have met at a bottle) at the first pass to close, and tumble together, where we lay grovelling till Mr. Digby had like to have squeezed us to death by overbearing almost upon us as massy a bulk as himself, Mr. Rainsford; whom, having disarmed, he ran in with both swords, crying to lord Wilmot to yield his, at the

[1] The house built by Francis I., and so called to enable him to evade his oath to Charles V.

[2] That is, the only civilian, all the rest being military.

instant of time that the lord Digby had hurt the lord Wilmot in the sword arm. The lord Wilmot gallantly replied, that they might take his life, but that he would not part with his sword, whereupon it was not further pressed. My lord Wentworth and I coming in, a motion was made by us for a perfect reconcilement there, and that the business might be passed over in silence. But my lord Wilmot, incensed as it should seem by the disadvantage on his part, refused a reconciliation, and told the Lord Digby, that he hoped that he would not think that he had much the better by that which was to be attributed more to his friends good fortune than his own; whereupon the Lord Digby replied, that if he had had a much more personal advantage over him, he should not have been vain of it; and without more words we parted, we to Paris, and they to St. Germains.

"This, my lord, is the substance and circumstances of what passed in this business, as near as I can remember. I humbly beseech your Lordship to excuse me for having made use of another hand. The next will, I hope, bring your Lordship the news of as perfect an agreement between these lords, as between Prince Rupert and my Lord Digby."

The foregoing curious details are highly illustrative of the ceremonious manner in which the exiled royalists conducted affairs of honour, and demonstrate how speedily they adopted the more sanguinary fashion of the French. They also reveal to us the petulant, turbulent temper of men of the highest rank in the court of Queen Henrietta Maria.

On the 17th of the same month, the Queen Regent

returned to Paris, to attend upon her younger son, the Duke of Anjou, who was slowly recovering from a protracted illness. On the 10th of November the king his brother, "the expectancy and rose of the fair state," —he in whom the French expected a second Solomon,— was attacked with small-pox. The event caused general consternation among the courtiers, not so much from apprehension for the king's safety as for their own fair features; and those who were not in immediate attendance fled from the focus of infection: a circumstance not unnoted by young Louis, who, on their return after his convalescence, upbraided them for abandoning him. The Prince of Wales kept out of the way of contagion at St. Germain's, amusing himself with forest sports, and those other pleasures, such as they were, which his mother's small court afforded.

To Mademoiselle de Montpensier the month of December brought certain confirmation of the news that the Emperor of Germany was about to espouse one of the Archduchesses of Inspruck; all her hopes therefore of displaying her dignity on an imperial throne being blasted, she began to listen to the suggestions of Saujon, and to entertain serious thoughts of captivating Archduke Leopold: a Viceroy of the Low Countries being better than a poor banished heir-apparent, or no husband at all.

"And thus ended the year 1647," says Madame de Motteville, "without much good or evil, but much presentiment of the latter, owing to the disturbed state of the public mind."

1648.

The drawing up of the political curtain of the coming year reveals the unfortunate, but still sanguine king of England confined to the castle and grounds of Carisbrook, "the securest place, during the time the houses shall think fit to continue him in the Isle of Wight." Here he has been, ever since his ill-concerted attempt to escape from Hampton Court, under the immediate surveillance of the conscientious Colonel Hammond. The four bills have lately been presented to him; the Scottish commissioners have come, ostensibly to mediate; but on the 3d of January the parliament vote that "no more addresses shall be presented to him," and that "it shall be treason for any to deliver any message to the King; or to receive any letter or message from him, without leave of both houses," which houses are represented by the Derby House-committee.

Before intelligence of these prohibitions reaches Jersey, we find that the governor has caused a boat to be in readiness to convey despatches to his majesty.[1] Whether these despatches consist of plans for facilitating his escape from Carisbrook Castle, devised by Carteret and the chancellor, or whether they contain letters received from the queen and prince by Henry Janson, it is impossible to ascertain. All we know concerning their tenor, is derived from a passage in a letter from Sir Edward Hyde to the king, dated Jersey the 23d of December, 1647.[1]

[1] State Papers, vol. ii. p. 384. A message, of which a rough draught is also to be found at p. 388, was probably transmitted to the king by the same opportunity: it relates apparently to pending negotiations.

"As soon as your Lieutenant Governor here, received sure information of your majesty's being in the Isle of Wight, he provided this vessel, and messenger to send thither, though the roughness of the weather kept him in nine days, and to bring back the blessed news of your safety, which is the most precious concernment in the world; and upon which the fate of all good men depends; and, therefore, we have all great reason to be in pain till we are assured of it. If your majesty finds that my correspondence with the place where you are, will be endured from this island, and that it may be of any use to your service, care will be taken for vessels frequently from hence thither."

The vessel above alluded to leaves Jersey on the 8th of January, her cargo consisting of French linen, and half-a-dozen sides of bacon. She reaches a port in the Isle of Wight, probably Cowes, and remains there for a whole fortnight without exciting suspicion; for the crew, speaking their native dialect, readily pass for what they represent themselves to be,—Norman traders, busily occupied in disposing of their wares to the best advantage. The messenger in the meantime tries, but in vain, to gain access to the king or to some trustworthy agent to whom he may deliver his despatches. At length he meets with a person who gives the countersign, which proving him to be a royalist agent, the messenger has no longer any hesitation in entrusting him with the letters of which he is the bearer. The stranger promises faithfully to get them delivered to the king in person, and keeps his word, as is proved by Sir George Carteret's receiving his majesty's reply. There can be little doubt that the person, who received the despatches from the Jersey agent, was the trusty and ingenious Major

Bosville,[1] the same who, according to Mr. Hillier, was "intrusted with the task of conducting his majesty's secret correspondence, and who seems to have effected his purpose by occasionally transforming himself into a variety of personages, sometimes a mariner, sometimes a countryman or mendicant," and who was several times committed to prison, but invariably recovered his liberty.

The Jersey boat, having fulfilled all the objects of her hazardous voyage, proceeds to Swanage, and from thence returns to Jersey with a cargo of paving-stones, much wanted to complete the gun platforms in Charles's Fort, and to pave the halls of the court house, in course of erection at St. Helier's. It is to be remarked, continues Chevalier, that had the messenger not been delayed by foul weather, he would have reached the Isle of Wight in time to communicate freely with his majesty, who was then allowed much liberty. But just before his arrival fresh soldiers had been sent down from London by the parliamentarians, to strengthen the garrison of Carisbrook; and so strict a watch was kept, that it became, thenceforth, impossible to approach the captive monarch except by stratagem.

We now find that the garrison of Castle Cornet is again in a deplorable condition for want of supplies—principally fresh provisions, and that scurvy threatens to break out among them; in consequence of which the governor thus writes to Sir Peter Osborne, still residing at St. Maloes.

[1] Mr. George Hillier's Narrative, p. 90.

"Sir Baldwin Wake to Sir Peter Osborne.[1]

"Sir—A fortnight since, yours with two Papers of newes I received, and returnde my thanks by a boate y^t^ Capt. Rich went in w^ch^ is I here lost; I make noc question but yo^u^ here of all our greate misfortunes that have happened to us of late in lorse of boates and provisions; Sir George Carteret seemeth to be very carefull of us, especially of myself; at present our condition is very meane, havinge nether Butter nor Oyle w^th^ ffish, nor puddinge, Bread 10 weekes, ffleshe a month, ffishe and wheate answerable to our ffiesh, coal in very good proportion.

"I thinke it needlesse to quicken yo^u^ in pressinge for our relcife, being confident of yo^r^ care and well wishinge to us; S^r^ yo^u^ write me aboute this time twelmonth y^t^, if I would write yo^u^ what I would have y^t^ litle money y^t^ I lent yo^r^ sonne in Cornwailes, laid out in, yo^u^ would laie it out for my use; therefore I pray yo^u^, Sir, let yo^r^ Porter buy me these things exprest in this note; I beseech yo^u^, Sir, faiver me alsoe to send me two doz. of the same Pills that yo^u^ sent me before; I feare we shall have a sickly house, many of my men complaining of their Skinns already; we have not any kinde of medicine in the Castle. S^r^ beseeching yo^u^ to faiver me still in yo^r^ assistinge, and often hearinge from yo^u^, and desir^g^ yo^u^ to thinke that I shall ever continue Sir, &c.

"Baldwin Wake.[2]

"Castle Cornet, y^e^ 10^th^ Ja. 1647-8."

[1] Osborne Papers.

[2] That Sir Peter did not neglect to press for relief, is evident from the following note, also among the Osborne Papers:—

"Lord

Answers to the despatches sent to the Isle of Wight having been received in Jersey towards the end of the month, Sir Edward Hyde writes to Lord Jermyn on the 26th of January, in reference to the secret treaty for raising a Scottish army in favour of the king:—"I am glad your lordship entertains so full hopes of the improvement in the King's condition in England. And it may be, they who first made the wound are the best skilled to cure it; and, they are hard hearted who will not forget the one, if they have cause to remember the other, especially if they proceed in it upon English, not Scottish, principles; for, without doubt that Kingdom will never flourish by any other laws than its own. We hear nothing since the four bills were sent to his Majesty, since which probably there may be some great alterations, though not so signal a one as will happen upon the advance of the Scots upon English ground: for which a man may honestly long, without putting his whole trust in them."[1]

The chancellor "no sooner receives a copy of the published declaration, that no more addresses shall be presented to the king, and the charges therein made against his majesty," than he neglects his historical work for one which may pave the way to his being recalled to

"Lord Jermyn to Sir Peter Osborne.

"SIR,

"The Queen and Prince have commanded me to transmit to you this enclosed Bill of exchange of three hundred pistolls, w^ch^ they desire you to employ for y^e^ releife of Gernsey Castle, according to such particulars as Sir Baldwin Wake shall desire you to provide. There is noe cause to recommend this to your particular care, y^e^ preservation of y^t^ place being so immediately under it, I wish you all happiness and remayne &c. "HE JERMYN.

"From St. Germain en Laye April 2^nd^ 1648."

[1] Clarendon MSS.

office; and employs the month of February in preparing "a very large and full answer" to the charges, in which he makes the "malice and the treason of that libellous declaration to appear; and his majesty's innocence in all the particulars charged upon him, with such pathetic applications and insinuations, as were most like to work upon the affections of the people."[1]

For the next three months, nothing is recorded by the Jersey chronicler, but accounts of rejoicings, diversified by an occasional fast day. Sir George Carteret, anxious to keep alive the loyalty of the islanders, neglects no opportunity of giving *éclât* to royalist commemorations, and various sports and pastimes, repudiated by the republican party as sinful, idolatrous, and papistical. But, apprehensive of outraging the well-known Presbyterian prejudices of the people, he occasionally indulges them with a day set apart for fasting and humiliation, after the most approved method of the Puritans.

For instance, on the 27th of March he celebrates the anniversary of his majesty's accession, by a series of salutes from the guns of the different fortifications; and gives a banquet at his seat of government. The three banished knights, Hyde, Murray, and Macklin are present, besides many other persons of distinction, and loyal toasts are proposed and drunk amid loud cheering, with the general chorus, "When the king enjoys his own again!" By way of compensation a fast is observed, two days after, with the utmost strictness and solemnity.

On the 27th of April the Royal Court-house, recently rebuilt, is inaugurated with great ceremony, and on the 1st of the ensuing month a May-pole is erected on the

[1] Life of Clarendon, vol. i. p. 204.

green in the centre of Charles's Fort, the putting down of which "carnal custom" is just then the cause of serious riots at St. Edmundsbury. To add to the enormity of the governor's offence, it must be stated that the evening before he had sent a party of forty soldiers, drums beating and colours flying, to select the tallest and straightest stick of timber growing on the estate of Abraham Herault, the expatriated parliamentary commissioner. The tree felled, stripped of its branches, and decorated with garlands and festoons of flowers, was conveyed to the Castle; and the garrison, after performing the accustomed military evolutions, dance around the may-pole with their wives and sweethearts; barrels of ale are broached, and two pieces of eight, by way of largess in the name of the king, are bestowed on each of the soldiers. Similar ceremonies, and similar revels, are going on at the same time in each of the militia districts; and it is to be observed, says Chevalier, whose geographical knowledge, however, is none of the most accurate, "que chacun se réjouissoit des bonnes nouvelles qui étoient venues par des lettres, qui annonçoient que la Province de Cornouaille et le Ouest d'Angleterre et autres lieux, se tournoient du côté du Roy, et que les Eccossais prenoient aussi le parti du Roy pour le rétablir en ses Royaumes, et Dominions; ce à quoi tous ses fidèles sujets esperoient depuis long tems de tout leur cœur de voir accompli."

In about a week from this time, the escape of the Duke of York, and his safe landing in Holland, became known in Jersey; and on the 29th of May, whilst the guns of Elizabeth Castle were fulminating in honour of the Prince of Wales's eighteenth birthday, a boat arrived freighted with rumours of disaffection in the

parliament's fleet. All seemed to go well for the royal cause, adding fresh spirit to the rejoicings of the Cavaliers.

There were, nevertheless, many of the islanders, friends and relatives of the banished parliamentarians, who secretly regarded these vehement demonstrations of joy, and anticipated triumph, with growing disappointment and disgust,—feelings, not a little increased by the governor's conduct, who continued to absorb the revenues of sequestered estates, and still held many political delinquents in durance at Mont Orgueil. The silent indignation of the malcontents was also increased, about this period, at finding that the Rev. M. de la Cloche, the former ally and friend of Sir George Carteret, — the very man who had been so instrumental in seating him on his all but vice-regal throne, —was on the point of being deported for condemning privateering, and for comparing the existing state of Jersey with that of Dunkirk. Unable to express their opinions openly for fear of persecution, they vented their pent-up grievances in complaints to the Jersey refugees in London, whenever a safe opportunity was afforded. Whitelocke, on the 7th of June, mentions the receipt of "letters from Jersey, of cruel oppressions and tyranny by Cartwright, the governor there, soliciting for relief;"[1] and Rushworth furnishes the following corroboration.

"Letter from Jersey of the sufferings of that island.[2]

"Wednesday June 7th 1648

"According to my engagement, when I last saw you in London, to give you an account of the proceedings

[1] Memorials, 307. [2] Fourth part, vol. ii. p. 1141.

of the malignant party in the island of Jersey where I am now, I have found this opportunity, which I would not neglect; and therefore shall I proceed to tell you that the well affected party here are extremely miserable under Carteret, the governor. Yea the whole commonality of the island are so impoverished, and exhausted with insupportable taxes and fines, that if they had but small forces with some worthy commander at the head of them, they would soon shake off the enemies' yoke. Your friends are almost out of hope ever to see you again, and except you can procure some forces this summer they will be utterly lost, for there are so many false reports here, as if all England should declare for the King, and such an odium upon the Parliament that the well affected party is mightily dejected. The enemy doth much insult upon them, not only by their barbarous usage, but also by banishment, and imprisonment; and particularly one John Le Gallais, a well wisher to the Parliament,[1] which they have, upon suspicion of giving intelligence to the enemy, meaning you, imprisoned, and fettered, and give out in their common discourse that they will hang him.

"There are in Mont Orgueil Castle besides him many other prisoners for their affection to the Parliament, and especially one John Drew, a very gallant gentleman, that hath suffered much hardship in prison, ever since the troubles began here; which in no wise daunts him,

[1] Apparently a mistake or a misrepresentation. Clement (not John) Le Gallais was imprisoned by the royal commissioner, and after a time allowed to compound; and under pretence of collecting money to pay his fine, he was allowed to roam abroad under constant surveillance; but he contrived to elude the vigilance of the soldier who watched his movements, and succeeded in effecting his escape from Jersey to France.

and is resolved rather to die than to adhere to them against the Parliament.

"It would be a very charitable work to get their releasement, that so their enemies may know that the Parliament have not forgotten their friends, as they scandalously report; and would also stop their enemies' false and scandalous speeches, which they endeavour to insinuate in the people,—'that the rebels at Westminster,' as they term the Parliament, 'do take no care of you, and by that means you are in a miserable condition, and almost starved, and reduced to that extremity of begging your bread,—all of which they look upon as a just reward, and vengeance of God upon such rebels, and traitors to their king, as they say you are, and, notwithstanding all your endeavours in petitioning for relief, and subsistence to yourselves, as likewise to have forces to reduce this island, you have not prevailed in anything. And they are still in hope that your endeavours will take no effect; being so bold to boast that it is by the means of their prevalent friends.' Which scandalous reports do discourage many in the island, & therefore, to assure your friends, and encourage the well affected, concerning the premises, that so their spirits may be revived. And in the interim my prayers shall be to God, he may be pleased to deliver your friends from the cruel yoke of slavery of their oppressors, and to send you with the rest of your exiled countrymen, in a condition of subduing your enemies, and delivering your poor oppressed friends."

There is much truth, as well as some exaggeration, in this letter. Carteret's proceedings had no doubt been despotic, and were still oppressive to his political opponents; but not more so perhaps than was absolutely

necessary for the maintenance of his authority in an island, which, but for his indomitable resolution, and great talents as a naval commander and a statesman, must have yielded to the parliamentarians, as indeed every other strong place, but Castle Cornet, had done.

Sir George Carteret, however, was about to be deprived of the companionship of a friend, whose counsel and support had been of the greatest assistance to him under a variety of trying circumstances: Sir Edward Hyde, who had resided at Jersey for upwards of two years, being summoned by the queen to wait upon the Prince of Wales at Paris on a certain day. Before the summons arrived, the prince indeed had commenced his journey towards the Hague; nevertheless, Hyde made immediate preparations for departure. On Saturday the 26th of June, accompanied by Mr. Zouche de Carteret[1] and three other attendants, Mr. Edgeman probably being one, he embarked at Elizabeth Castle; set sail under a salute of seven guns, and arrived happily at Cotainville.

Instead of our accompanying the Chancellor to Rouen, where he joins Lord Cottington and the Earl of Bristol, with whom he journeys to Dieppe on learning that his highness has taken shipping for Holland; and instead of witnessing his sufferings from sea-sickness, and capture by a freebooter during his perilous voyage to Flushing, we shall at once proceed from Cotainville to Paris, in order to resume the thread of our continental narrative.

[1] Lady Carteret's brother, who had been taken at Oxford by the rebels, and only recently effected his escape. Mr. Zouch is not the "Carteret, a servant of the Prince's," alluded to in Clarendon's Life, neither is he the Captain Carteret mentioned in Digby's captured letters.

Early in March, the Marquis of Ormond, having escaped from "the tyrants at Westminster," came to St. Germain's, to assist the Queen of Great Britain and the Prince with his advice, in the present conjuncture of affairs in Ireland. Lord Inchiquin, who "always retained a true affection to the monarchy and constitution of England," notwithstanding his temporary defection, had lately renounced his alliance with the parliament, returned to his allegiance, and now wrote to Ormond, insisting on at least 600*l.* being sent him, "as the lowest sum that was necessary to provide for the support of his forces, and to preserve their affections entire to his majesty's service." The Marquis early moved the court of St. Germain's and that of France to supply the requisite amount, as well as to provide all necessaries for his own speedy return to Ireland, and his resumption of the Lord Lieutenancy. But Jermyn was averse to parting with any sum for the public service that might expose her majesty's court to difficulties; and the Cardinal, owing to disturbances in France, and the wretched state of the finances of that kingdom, was both unwilling and unable to make the necessary advances to Ormond.

Henrietta Maria had expressed some intention of going to Ireland in person, and the Prince of Wales had again been invited thither; but he determined never to set foot in that country so long as the Pope's nuncio remained there. The Scots, likewise, were importunate for his highness's repairing to them, "and promised mighty matters upon his coming, particularly to march with him at the head of a powerful army into England." He declined acceding to this proposal until he was assured that the promised forces had

actually crossed the frontier; but his mother, influenced in no slight degree by the representations of the English Presbyterian, Daniel Hollis, then in banishment at Rouen, was exceedingly anxious for him to proceed at once to Scotland. In vain the French minister in that kingdom, seconded by Mons. de Brienne at Paris, represented to her that such a course "would absolutely ruin the King's affairs, and perhaps be fatal to his life, the best security of which lay in the Prince's safety;"—she was so possessed by Scotch counsels, and so intent on sending his highness over, that nothing could prevent her "from teazing the Court of France on the subject, for their consent."[1]

This new scheme appears to have superseded, in the queen's mind, all thoughts of obtaining the hand of the hitherto desirable heiress of Montpensier for her son. Mademoiselle, on the other hand, now that the Emperor is married, not only listens to Saujon's suggestions, but sanctions his negotiating a marriage between her and Leopold. The Cardinal, apprised of their intentions, arrests her confidant, much to her dismay, and then brings the matter before a cabinet council. Mademoiselle herself gives a detailed and ingenuous account of the affair, in which she reveals certain family secrets somewhat discreditable to her father; and tells us how, on her refusing to confess the truth, relative to Saujon and the archduke, she was confined to her apartments; how the queen regent visited her in prison, lectured her on the impropriety of her conduct, and pointed out to her, that even if the archduke did succeed in obtaining the sovereignty of the Low Countries,

[1] Carte's Life of Ormond.

which was not likely, he was the last man in the world she ought to select as a husband.

The courtiers are of course all on the *qui vive* to learn the cause of her disgrace, which ultimately oozes out; and our ambassador, Sir Richard Browne, writes thus, on the 9th of May, to Mr. Secretary Nicholas:— "A broilery (*brouillerie*) hath been about Mademoiselle's receiving some overtures of a marriage with the Archduke Leopold, and some other things, for which she hâth been chid, and is confined to her lodging."[1] Mademoiselle feigned indisposition, and the affair was soon after hushed up, by an official rumour that her detention had been merely a precautionary measure, to prevent her from being forcibly carried off by the archduke: who, innocent man, never entertained an idea of the kind.

In the meantime the imposition of a house-tax,[2] *abonnement de domaine*, on the Parisians, an impost similar to the ship-money exacted by Charles the First, had given rise to serious disagreements between the queen regent and her parliament, ending in the *Fronde;* the

[1] Autograph Letter from Mr. Bentley's collection. See Bell's Memorials of the Civil War, vol. ii. p. 19.

[2] Mazarin, who was suspected of being the instigator of this house tax, and others equally objectionable, became so obnoxious, that whenever his name was mentioned in the parliament loud hootings ensued, in imitation of those uttered by the *gamins* of Paris, when slinging stones at each other, and similar to the cries of the lackeys at the theatre doors. On one occasion Bachaumont, one of the counsellors, having declared, in allusion to the cardinal, but without naming him, "Je le fronderai bien," Barillon, another of the counsellors, began to sing in a loud voice—

"Un vent de Fronde
S'est levé ce matin,
Je crois qu'il gronde
Contre le Mazarin."

The burthen of this song was echoed from mouth to mouth, and soon "un vent de Fronde" became the war-cry of the populace.

first act of which was coeval with the second civil war in England. The cabinet of St. Germain's, apprised of tumults and risings in Wales, meditate sending Lord Hopton thither; the Marquis of Ormond is impatient to revisit Ireland; and Prince Charles is only waiting for the Duke of Hamilton to cross the Scottish border, in order to join him in the north; when his destination is suddenly changed, by news arriving that several of the ships in the Downs have set their parliamentary captains on shore, and have declared for the king.

The Duke of York being at this time with his sister, and her husband the Prince of Orange, at their house of Honslardyke, the revolted fleet made the best of their way to Helvoet Sluys, where they arrived about the latter end of May, or beginning of June, according to the Gregorian style, then fully established in the States of Holland. The duke went on board the fleet, and remained there, in expectation of being speedily joined by his royal brother, to whom a messenger had early been despatched, apprising him of the arrival of the fleet in Holland, and informing his highness that a ship of war awaited him at Calais.

On the arrival of the messenger, a council was instantly held at St. Germain's, at which there was no hesitation in deciding that it would be proper for his highness to lose no time in repairing to the Hague, and put himself on board the fleet, "to encourage the seamen to persevere in their duty, and to be ready to land, or give his assistance in any part of England, where his presence would most further the service." His journey to Calais was, however, much retarded by the usual impediment,—want of ways and means. The Cardinal absolutely refused to furnish him with money,

much to the satisfaction, no doubt, of his new friend Cromwell; and Jermyn, as usual, pleaded poverty: but at length his lordship found means to borrow, as it was pretended, five thousand pistoles for the use of the prince, who when king repaid the sum with compound interest.

His royal highness, on the 29th of June, accompanied by Prince Rupert, the lords Culpepper, Hopton, and many others of the English nobility, besides his personal suite, commenced his journey to Calais. "There at Calais," writes Lord Digby, "will be the rendezvous of most of the King's council here in France; where certainly will be the importantest occasion that ever was of using the advices of faithful and able persons concerning the whole frame and order for the future, both of his majesty's affairs, and the application of his Highness's person."[1] Digby himself, the lords Jermyn and Hatton, together with the marquises of Worcester and Ormond, remained with the queen of England, who, after a temporary residence at the Louvre, had returned to St. Germain's; whilst the lords Witherington, Bellasis, Hawley, and many others, repaired overland to the Hague through the Low Countries.

The Prince, arriving at Calais, embarked on board the English frigate, and set sail without delay for Holland, impatient to reach the fleet before his brother had engaged it in any enterprise. A quick and prosperous voyage brought him to the Sluys, where he was received by the fickle sailors "with all those acclamations, and noises of joy, which that people are accustomed to; they having expressed as much some days before, at the arrival of the Duke of York." The Prince of Orange

[1] Digby to Hyde. State Papers, vol. ii. p. 409.

and his consort, the princess royal of England, on coming to hear of his highness's being at the Hague, than they came thither to greet him, and render him every assistance in their power. The interview between the exiled brother and sister, who had not met since they were children, was a source of mutual consolation, although embittered by thoughts of their father's present melancholy position.

The Prince of Wales on coming to the fleet found it in great disorder, and in a very factious state: the seamen having no officer of higher rank to control or command them than a boatswain or a master's mate. Their "infant loyalty" was also very much distracted by the conflicting intrigues of interested partisans: Doctor Gough, a creature of Lord Jermyn's, doing his best to induce them to petition the prince to appoint his patron admiral of the fleet; and Colonel Bamfield, who had aided the Duke of York in his escape, endeavouring to persuade the crews to elect his highness as their commander, without waiting for the sanction of the king or the Prince of Wales. The duke had already assumed the command, appointed the Lord Willoughby his vice-admiral, officered several of the ships, and was doing all he could to proceed at once to action. The timely arrival of his elder brother happily restored something like order and discipline in the fleet, so that, in a short time, the seamen "returned to their old cheerful humour."

The Prince, by the advice of his mother's counsellors, and in pursuance of her favourite but mistaken policy, that of conciliating the Presbyterians, confirmed Lord Willoughby, who was much esteemed by them, in his command as vice-admiral; appointed Batten rear-admiral,

and knighted the man who, in 1643, sought the destruction of his royal mother. 'His highness, fully aware that the only way to maintain discipline among the mariners was to employ them in active service, so as to afford them the prospect of prize-money, determined to carry the fleet out to sea before the parliament could collect a squadron of sufficient force to contend against him. Having obtained, through the assistance of the Prince of Orange, a reasonable proportion of provisions, especially beef, which was much wanted, and having set the Duke of York on shore, much to his young highness's indignation, the Prince of Wales and his squadron set sail for the Downs.

The following interesting "relation concerning the management of the fleet under the Prince," attributed to the pen of Mr. Secretary Long, may be quoted not unaptly in this place.

"Hague, 24th Sept. 1648.

"When I first came on shipboard from Calais, I found the Prince in a readiness to go for Holland, and so for Scotland; in order to which he had made choice of one of his frigates to carry him, and his servants thither, and to leave the fleet in the Downs, but some anti-Scottists of our Council (you may easily guess them) to prevent his journey thither, set all the seamen upon him, who came all upon the upper deck, besecching his highness that he would not stir from them, until they had been in Lee road, where my lord Warwick then was; for if they should go without him, they would say they had no Prince, or that they had but a counterfeit one, and much to this effect. We did all we could to appease them, but it was impossible. Then it was resolved the Prince

should take all the fleet with him into Holland, hoping that if they went with him, they would be satisfied; but that would not do neither; for no sooner did they find that they were to go into Holland, but they fell into the highest mutiny that ever you saw, all coming up again to the Prince, giving him their petitions, and beseeching him to go for Lee road, cursing my lord Culpeper openly, and my lord Lauderdale, threatening to throw them overboard, as being the authors of carrying the Prince from them before he had come into Lee road.

"All the art that could be was used to allay this storm, and to persuade them to go along with the Prince, who went amongst them and spoke to them himself;——but no rhetorick could alter this mad multitude from this design; for they fancied, that upon the sight of our ships, many of their's and many seamen, would come in to us, which would destroy Warwick's fleet, and make absolute masters at sea. Yet for all this, we took another resolution for Holland, the Prince (for no man else durst) set again upon the seamen to desire their leave, asking them if they would not go with him wherever he went, and gave them so kind words, that at length his ship was, after a sort, content to go for Holland; so we set sail, and steered our course accordingly; which the other ships seeing, two of the biggest (in one whereof lord Hopton, and lord Culpeper) sailed from us, and away were going for Lee Road as fast as they could, which, we perceiving were forced to tack about, and steer their course.* * * So away we went, as we needs must when the devil drives, and contrary to our expectation, spied Warwick's fleet coming towards us, at which all our cabins were knocked down, every ship cleared and put in a posture of fighting, every land-man had his station and musket, and so we

sailed towards him, desiring nothing more than to fight with him; nor did I ever see so much alacrity and forwardness in any man, as was in our mariners. But my friend Warwick was surprised, and when he came forth did not think to meet with us; which caused him to make a fair retreat, we pursuing him all that day. When night came, we cast anchor, and so did he, at about a league distance.

"Next day, as soon as the tide would give us leave, we weighed anchor, and so did he; but he kept his old course of retreating, and we ours of pursuing, though not at so great a distance as the day before. When we came almost under Queenborough, he suffered us to come very near him, and met us. The Vice-Admirals on both sides (who are the first that engage in sea fights) were within minion shot one of the other; so that we all expected when they would have given fire; but at that instant there fell so great and sudden a gust of wind, that we had nothing else to save us from the sands that are dangerous in that place, but by casting anchor, which we did within cannon shot one of another, where we lay till next morning. And then finding no good to be done, for we found he had no mind to fight, our victuals being spent, and our mutineers satisfied, we weighed anchor, and set sail once more for Holland. Warwick weighs too, and follows us, but fair and far off at some two leagues distance all day; at night he casts anchor. And away we went, and here we are, I thank God; and if ever they get me into their sea-voyages again, I am much mistaken.

"I must not forget to tell you, the Prince behaved himself with as much gallantry and courage in this business as ever you saw; for when his lords and all the

seamen came to desire him to go down into the hold, under the decks, he would not hear of it, but told them his honour was more to him than his safety; and desired them not to speak of it any more.

"What we have done these six weeks at sea, truly I am ashamed and sorry I can give you no better account. Rich ships we had under our custody, but have released them upon easy compositions; I know not why nor wherefore. We have been received here handsomely enough hitherto, the States allowing the Prince a thousand Guelders a day, for ten days together; but after that he must shift for himself." [1]

Early in September, whilst the Prince was still in the Downs, the idea of employing the fleet in the reduction of the island of Guernsey, seems to have been entertained by more than one person; and had the advice contained in the following letters been adopted, the island might easily have been subjugated by the detachment of a few men-of-war, co-operating with the garrison of Castle Cornet, and the Jersey men. The advice was fortunately neglected; had it been otherwise, the conquest of Guernsey by the royalists would have favoured the accomplishment of Jermyn's design, and the whole group might have been transferred to the French, from whom it would have thereafter been difficult to wrest them. It now appears that the adherence of the Guernsey people to the parliament, however disloyal their conduct may have been considered at the time, secured to Great Britain her present possession of these outposts: an important turnpike to "the

[1] State Papers, vol. ii. p. 416.

greatest road of trade of the known world," according to Sir Edward Hyde.

The first person, at the period of which we treat, who appears to have proposed the employment of the fleet in the reduction of Guernsey, was Sir Baldwin Wake; who, weary of his monotonous and inglorious mode of life at Castle Cornet, no sooner heard of the arrival of the prince's squadron in the Downs than he hastened thither; delighted to find himself once more in his own element, on shipboard.

"Sir Baldwin Wake to Sir Peter Osborne.[1]

"Newhaven the 3rd September 1648.

"Sr

"A weeke since I wrote to you from Calis; by that I writ yoᵘ I intended to come by Caen, and desirde a letter from yoᵘ of yoʳ advise thinkinge yoᵘ might heere somethinge from the Castle, and wheather the Shallope be safely arryved, which I sent from the Downes. It would ade much to my presente businesse if I could have hard for certaine that she is safe.

"My lord of Ormond, who is a man of very great honour, and one truly that I had as soone ingadge wᵗʰ as anie nobleman I know in the 3 kingdoms, offers me very faire propositions to have men out of Ierland; —I conclude nothing. He hath a Dutch shipe of 34 peeces wᶜʰ carries himselfe, and 2 other vessells for portage wᶜʰ goe wᵗʰ him wᶜʰ 3 are to returne; the frygott that waites one me I may command. This shipping is enufe for the businesse, yᵉ men is promised to be ready within 5 daies that I lande, but my lord

[1] Osborne Papers.

wants ready money w^ch^ I would furnish if I knew certaine how the Castle is, w^ch^ is the greate reason I will not conclude with him, nor, willingly, without your advise, which I could desire in all my businesses to be counseld by.

"I will not write you of the passage in the Downes and Holland, for if I should they would require large sheets of paper;—only this, yo^u^ see I could not get y^e^ Iland reducht, though my master was earnest in it, but pryvate interest carryed it; his Highness allowed me 800*l* sterlinge for our maintenance till March, w^ch^ was delivered unto me in the richest sort of Indicoe; I had thought to have sold a quantity of it here, but cannot, excepte I sell it for halfe that it is worth, its a staple commodity, and there can be noe losse in keepinge of it rather than to sell it for halfe the worth. I thinke as I goe to leave a quantity w^th^ Mr. Stroude and gett some money of him for the presente reliefe of the places.

"I think by this his Highness may bē at Edenburg, or uppon his voyadge, if this desente of Scots alters not; if he goes he is to leave his Chaplains behynde, who have approved themselves gallante men in the Downes. I will write no more but y^t^ I am and desire to approve myselfe as I have profest &c.

"BALDWIN WAKE."

Wake's conduct on this occasion, with his questionable speculation in indigo, becomes matter for comment hereafter. In the meantime we have a letter from Sir Peter Osborne, on the subject of Guernsey; which, from its date, must have reached its destination too late to be of service, even if the question of sending

an expedition to Guernsey had been seriously entertained.

"Sir Peter Osborne to the Prince of Wales.[1]

"St. Malo Sept. the 8th S. A 1648

"May it please yor Royall Highnes

"Now that by the goodnes of God your Highnes is come into yor English seas, and arrived upon that coast wth a comãnding power, voutsafe yor most humble servant permission, out of the truth of a loyall hart to congratulate wth yor Highns this great happines, who wishes it most prosperous, and most succesfull to bring all yor desires to pass. That as yor intentions are most religious and glorious for the freeing of yor Royall father from the violence and usurpation of his traiterous subjects, and out of the captivity he is in, so I beseech Almighty God to crowne yor attempts with his blessing, and guiding them wth a divine conduct to subdue his and yor ennimyes, yt it may appeare he hath protected you, and hath put you upon this action of glory. By wch others may be incited by your Highnes' example to shew forwardnes in this noble imployment and spirited by yor worth may receave courage from yor vertue.

"I would I had the cause to invite yor Highnss to the peaceable view of your Island of Guernesey, if their late offences deprived them not of that happines and honour, having presumptuously taken the boate[2] and provisions sent to the Castle, and with much rigour imprisoned the men. They have farther proceeded to shut up the peere leaving a way onely for a single boate, like

[1] Osborne Papers.

[2] The "shallope" about which Wake makes inquiry.

men that rather stand upon a weake defence, then weary of doing ill appeare in a posture to seeke favour and pardon; as if it weare in their smal power to continue the warre alone.

"Suffer not therefore, I beseech your Hig^nes^, this coale longer to smoke, but let it be quencht and quickly put out; who are best ruled by being taught to know themselves, w^ch^ growne proud w^th^ forbearance, they do not yet. The towne, as I am informed, are like onely to make opposition. The rest, w^ch^ are the more considerable number, will doe nothing. And though Russel be returned, he hath no comānd. They contemne his authority and refuse to obey his orders he hath brought.

"S^r^, you see the ennimy you are to deal w^th^. A people disorderly and divided: hating those y^t^ rule them, and yet not knowing what to doe themselves. You shall not need to hazard your owne Princely person, I advise it not: some of the ships under your comānd may doe it. The reputation of the action will be still yours.

"I am buying a boate y^t^ I may have it better cheape, and if lost may venture the less, w^ch^ shall carry the provisions, or as much of them as can be gotten, as Sir Baldwin Wake hath appointed, y^t^ the castle may not be given up for necessity & want, For I am most carefull not to have it imputed to me to have fayled in what I may supply it, whose comānd, by yo^r^ permission yo^r^ Hig^nes^ well knowes it, is, when you shall be pleased to take it off yo^r^ hand, by which I continue yet under restraint in complyance w^th^ all obedience to yo^r^ Hig^nes^ comānd as &c.

"Peter Osborne."

Whilst Osborne was writing to the Prince, and Wake was applying to his highness personally, Sir George Carteret deemed the existing conjuncture favourable to a descent upon the neighbouring parliamentary island. Among the Clarendon manuscripts we find a document thus endorsed: "Mr. Nicoll's memorials concerning the failure of Sir George Carteret's design upon Guernsey, through the obstinacy of Sir Baldwin Wake." The memorial is somewhat diffuse; but, as it relates to events hitherto unnoticed in print, we may venture to insert it in these pages, its proper place, without any attempt at abridgment.

> "Result of the several conferences which passed, in the month of September 1648, betwixt Sir George Carteret, and Sir Baldwin Wake, about the expedition then on foot, for reduction of the Isle of Guernsey to his Majesty's obedience.

"It was to be hoped that the unwearied patience wherewith Sir George Carteret, and the inhabitants of the Isle of Jersey, have borne the heavy calumnies, and aspersions most unjustly flung upon them by Sir Baldwin Wake, would have reclaimed him from those odious ways of causeless detraction; but it is apparent that their forbearing to resent his unsufferable indignities hath rendered him so much more insolent and bitter against them.

"It will not be unseasonable for disabusing of such persons as may be prepossesed by his scandalous reports, with prejudice against the said inhabitants, to relate what past, at his last being in that isle, (whereon

he grounds his discontent and spleen against them,) until the humble remonstrance the said inhabitants intend to his majesty of their just grievances, (from which they have hitherto been hindered by Sir George Carteret, for avoiding occasion of further breaches betwixt them), do come to light.[1]

"Whereby, and sundry good testimonies, thereunto annexed, will be manifest, how their loyalty hath been traduced by the said Sir Baldwin. He confessed at his arrival in that isle that he had not come there, if he had not been driven thither for want of victuals, (caused by his improvidence in choosing rather to carry Indigo[2] and other goods, to a considerable value, into his castle, than bestow any part thereof in provisions, as well he might at his being with the said commodities in France) with which, though he could not in reason look to be supplied by Sir George Carteret, in respect of the excessive charge which in that kind lay upon his hands for a long time. Yet he spared him what provisions he possibly might, (for which he remains still unsatisfied) notwithstanding the said Sir Baldwin gave him much cause for offence, both by his leaving the frigate he came in without the road, least (as he said,) it should be seized on if it came in command. Whereof he needed not to be apprehensive, if it were sufficient, as he reported, to bear (*sic.*) Sir George's whole fleet; and likewise for threatening to those he spake with in the way to Elizabeth Castle, (by whom he understood of the expedition that was then on foot for the reduction of the isle of Guernsey

[1] This paper, as the endorsement states, was drawn up after the death of Charles the First.

[2] See Wake's own letter, *ante*, p. 214.

to his majesty's obedience) to be revenged on Sir G. Carteret for presuming to meddle with his government during his absence.

"And though he had the confidence to say as much to Sir George himself when they met, yet for all that Sir George received and entertained him with no less civil respect and kindness than he useth to persons of best quality; protesting he had no end in the enterprize he was going upon, for atchieving of which he had been at sea thrice already, but his majesty's immediate service, and the benefit which would accrue to his affairs, by a place he doubted not but with God's help, he should gain. He therefore earnestly besought Sir Baldwin all jealousies to set apart, to join with him in that important action; for the happy execution whereof there only wanted the opportunity of a fair wind, all other necessaries conducing thereunto, being in full readiness. Whereto Sir B. replied that he was so far from concurring therein that contrary wise he could not in honour suffer it to be proceeded in; and that it concerned him rather to hasten to his castle as the centre to which his endeavour ought to tend. That, therefore he would instantly set sail, for otherwise he should betray the trust committed to him by his master, unto whom he could not answer his (*sic.*) longer abode with men who went about to undermine him.

"Sir G. hereupon protested, that for his part he never had any such intention, and that he would always be ready to serve him to the utmost of his ability; asking him what store of provisions he thought to be in his Castle, to the end he might accordingly proportion his supplies for the same; hoping the wind would be fair the next day for them to go together. But Sir B.

said he would not stay a minute, and that, if his shallop had not been taken, he would have done the work himself, without the help of any islanders, (unto whom he will vouchsafe no better appellation than, French dogs). However he knew how to get the place when he pleased, and so should before six weeks came to an end.

"Sir George, being unwilling that a design which was so happily begun, and had cost so much time and treasure to bring to that perfection, should be frustrated by the wilfulness of one, offered him the charge of as many men as were lost with his shallop; or, if he pleased, to divest himself of the whole command he had, and serve under him as a private man. But that could not satisfy him neither, he still persisting in his resolution to be gone, and that he had letters which would do more good than all Sir G.'s men and shipping;—which letters, Sir G. told him, might, as he thought, produce so much the better effect, being accompanied with sword in hand, than going single. Wherein he guessed right, for they were rejected with scorn, and the messenger he sent with them, denied going ashore, and threatened with death if he did not presently retire. Sir G. intreating him to have a little longer patience, for that by his going away before the rest, the design, (which till then was kept secret, the ports being shut,) would be discovered, and consequently fail of the success so much desired. Which made Sir B. break forth into passion, and to tell Sir G. that it was strange such a one as he, being but an inferior officer, should take upon him matters so far above his reach, for which he had no warrant neither; and that if, notwithstanding these oppositions of his, Sir G. did go on

with that design it would be believed he had a mind to murther Sir Peter Osborne, and expel all the English out of Guernsey, as had long been suspected.

"Sir G. replied he was not guilty so much as in thought of that evil, neither could he be questioned for what he went about, having authority in that behalf under his majesty's own hand and seal; which Sir B. rejoined was null—adding that he could not rest until he were in his castle, being a place of as great importance as any in the world, and the key of all the islands, and that Jersey itself could not subsist but by it.

"By this time word being brought that his frigate, which he left exposed to a strong wind, blowing upon a lee shore, was coming into the road for safety, he threw away in a fury swearing that the Captain did it by instigation of Sir G. and that he would have him hanged for it, and then addressing himself to the English officers walking thereby, told them that he did not pity their case in that, Sir George being a Presbyterian, and a mortal enemy to Cavaliers, had a purpose to betray them all, and that therefore it behoved them to look to themselves in time; for, said he, the king's affairs are in a desperate condition, the Scots being beaten, Colchester taken, and the greatest confusion in the world in the fleet. All which particulars he had spread before over the country, as Captain Sherwood hath since done the late King's death; much against Sir G.'s will, who desired to have them concealed so long as might be, least his soldiers should be disheartened thereby.

"When there was no way to persuade his longer stay, but that he would go aboard, as he did, Sir G.

commands so many of his men as Sir B. desired, to wait upon him; which they did most unwillingly, fearing to be held prisoners in his castle, as they had been before; it being usual with him either to restrain them of liberty there, or force them away thence in the day time, that he may have the sport to see them made prize of by the enemy's men-of-war riding there. But he had not been aboard an hour, but he came again ashore, saying, the weather inclining to be fair invited him to stay for more company. That is to say, he durst not venture with his only Frigate, as may appear by what followed.

"Whereupon Sir G. was moved to make one essay more to engage him if it were possible, proposing to him that if he would receive into his Castle two or three hundred choice men, or so many as he thought might be sufficient, with the help of his own to surprise the town of Guernsey by night, Sir G. would provide victuals for them for twelve or fourteen days, or so much longer time as should be needful. To which overture he seemed at first willing to give ear; but, when it came to be treated of, he said, he could receive no men into his castle, but upon these conditions, which he accordingly drew in writing. First, that Sir G. should oblige himself the town should not be plundered by them; second, that they should look for no recompense until his garrison was fully satisfied; third, that before their entrance into the said castle, they should deliver all their arms to whom he should appoint; fourth, that they should take oaths to be obedient to him in the performance of whatsoever duty he should think fit to command them.

"Thus, that otherwise, most hopeful design became

fruitless; but yet Sir George Carteret was pleased, for the better security of the said Sir B. to go in person with three frigates, and as many good shallops well manned and armed to conduct him the said Sir Baldwin to his castle. Which if he had had a mind to dispossess him of, he needed not to have kept near one thousand men, and above twenty vessels almost two months upon his own charges; but to give over the care of relief of that place, for in such case it must have yielded."

If this narrative be correct, we can scarcely credit Pepys' assertion, as to Sir George Carteret's being the most passionate man in the world, but rather concur with Sir Edward Hyde; who, writing to Lord Culpepper the preceding April, relates some strange conduct on the part of Baldwin Wake, which induces him to conclude, that he had "contracted a distemper of brain."

Although Nicoll's may be regarded as an *ex parte* statement, the perversity of Wake is too much in keeping with the inconsistencies of Goring, Grenville, and others, to be considered entirely apocryphal. At all events it is evident, that the petulant obstinacy of a jealous Cavalier rendered a very promising scheme utterly abortive.

About the same time, but totally unconnected in the first instance with Carteret's project, the Duke of Lorraine offered forces on the security of Jersey and Guernsey. Sir Edward Hyde, being at the Hague and Rotterdam, about the beginning of September, heard that "there were nine hundred foreigners; men of all nations, levied by the Duke of Lorraine and the prince of Orange, and put into the Isle of Burcombe, to

be thence transported for the service of the King of England. The first design was, that these men, with some additional numbers, under the conduct of Lord Goring, should endeavour the surprisal of the Isle of Wight, and thereby release the king, when several parties appeared in the kingdom upon his majesty's side, and the kingdom of Scotland engaged in an invasion with a very great army; Sir Marmaduke Langdale being likewise with a considerable power in the north. So that if the enterprize upon the Isle of Wight should for the present appear over difficult, there were like to be places enough for their landing in other parts."

Before final arrangements could be made, for the employment of these troops, the Scottish army was beaten and in full retreat; Langdale was defeated, and Colchester in a desperate condition. "Then was the question," writes the Chancellor, "what should be done with those men at Burcombe.—As there appeared no present hopeful opportunity of employing them, so the inconveniences of disbanding, or otherwise suffering them to be disposed of, were not unconsidered. And in this suspense it was proposed by the doctor (Gough),[1]—without any other authority that I know of,

[1] Stephen Gough, or Goffe, son of a well-known Puritanical minister, took his Master's degree at Oxford, travelled in the Low Countries, and became chaplain to Col. Vere's regiment, where he gained much knowledge of the world. Returning to England, he became a creature of Jermyn's, who employed him in the queen's service as an agent for raising money by the sale of tin. He was then made one of the king's chaplains, and created D.D., and afterwards employed as a minor agent and envoy in France; and we find him earnest about the Channel Islands, in accordance, no doubt, with Jermyn's views and instructions. During the Commonwealth he changed his religion, and was received into the society of the Oratorians at Paris, "the bre-

but of his own judgement, that those men might be usefully applied towards the reduction of Guernsey."

The proposition being debated before the Prince of Wales, the chancellor objected, that, having no ships of war to convoy the troops across a sea whereof the enemy was master, they would be exposed to the danger of being captured on their voyage; that on reaching Guernsey they would have to encounter resistance not only from the islanders, but from a couple of parliament frigates constantly stationed there. He also objected to the troops themselves, on the score of their being foreigners—"enough to raise scandal and give offence, but too few to do business; and that the attempt would prove very prejudicial to the King and Prince."

His arguments prevailing, another expedient, to avoid disbanding, was proposed and agreed upon for the reduction of Guernsey; and Dr. Gough obtained permission to attend the Duke of Lorraine, in the prince's name; and from thence wait upon the queen, to inform her of the state of the business. Her majesty, however, decided that it was best to employ the duke's men for the reduction of Guernsey; and for the way of doing it referred to the doctor, who proposed "that the men should be immediately transported to Jersey; that they shall stay there till further orders, and join with those of Jersey, for the reduction of Guernsey; for

thren whereof have liberty to improve their particular estates." He consequently became rich, and was in a capacity sometimes to befriend his exiled countrymen,—among others Abraham Cowley. Henrietta Maria made him her chaplain, and appointed him tutor to James Crofts, afterwards Duke of Monmouth, until his pupil attained the ninth year of his age. See Wood's Athenæ, &c.

which purpose all vessels for transportation must be provided at Jersey." [1]

"The ships prepared for the conveyance of these foreigners are only merchantmen, bound for Bourdeaux, who would land the men at Jersey, and not be engaged to carry them to Guernsey; no ship of war to attend them, no money or provisions to keep them when they came thither. Sailing under Dutch colours, it is supposed they will be taken no notice of, although the Duke of Lorraine's agent at London informs him that the parliament is so jealous of those men at Burcombe, that they have given precise order to the Earl of Warwick to send some of his frigates to distress that island."

Although Sir George Carteret signified to the Prince, that he could supply fifteen hundred men out of Jersey for the attempt upon Guernsey; yet it was apprehended, upon good grounds, that the inhabitants of Jersey, "which is the only entire place within his Majesty's dominions in obedience to him, will be exceedingly startled at the arrival of so many foreigners, of whom they have always, and of late very much expressed a great detestation, and will absolutely resist and oppose the landing, and utterly refuse to join with them." "I may be pardoned," says Sir Edward Hyde, "if, after two years living in the island, I pretend to know their apprehension of, and animosities against strangers. What the consequence of such an insurrection and refusal may be, is worth the consideration. At best you are to

[1] Minutes in Lord Clarendon's hand, from the unpublished papers in the Bodleian Library, embodied in his letter, Nov. 28th, 1648, in the State Papers, vol. ii. p. 455.

attempt the reduction of Guernsey with nine hundred men, whereas, those strangers being declined, the Prince is sure of above double the number of the King's own subjects for that expedition.

"If these shall be suffered to land in Jersey, they will inevitably ruin and destroy that place; all the provisions of that island not being sufficient to satisfy such a number many days; and it is admitted by the Doctor that there is no provision of money or other subsistence for them. So that, that place which is designed for his highness'[1] own residence, and upon the affections whereof he must depend for his own support, shall be imperilled and oppressed before his coming. So that instead of acclamations and joy, which would be expressed upon his arrival there, he shall be resented (*sic*) with the cries, and complaints, and it may be, the desolation of that loyal people.

"Of what moment this consideration may be, and whether it will not absolutely disappoint the design of his highness' ever going thither; and what the consequence may be of frustrating that design, his highness, having so small a choice of places to resort to, may be worthy consideration. At least, it were to be wished that Sir G. Carteret might be made first acquainted with the whole design, and his opinion and advice known, before the engagement be entered into."[2]

"There is so great an aversion in those islands towards strangers that all hopes of a party, even in Guernsey, would be lost, and that they of Jersey would not join

[1] "As for P. Charles, it is still advertised from Paris and Holland, that he shall winter in Jersey."—Nicholas to Lord Ormond, Nov. 12th, 1648.—Carte's Letters.

[2] Clarendon MSS.

them. Moreover there are not ships in Jersey to transport their own men, that being the greatest want that Sir George Carteret desires to be supplied; and so those men being left at Jersey there would be no means to carry them away. Last of all, the going to Jersey (so full of hazards, inconveniences and dangers) was not mentioned in the queen's letter, or in any direction of your lordship's (Jermyn) whose government it is. Upon the whole matter my lord Goring himself was clearly of opinion that the design proposed by the Doctor was not at this time practicable; and that the Duke of Lorraine be moved to keep the men until, upon the conclusion of the treaty (of Newport), it might be discerned how they might best be disposed to the king's service; to which he was confident his highness would be easily invited. Upon these reasons and considerations," continues Hyde, "the thought of that enterprise was laid aside, and I am exceedingly deceived if any man of us was not directly against sending those men to Jersey."

It was chiefly, if not entirely, owing to this rooted aversion to foreign interference, that the Channel Islands were preserved; even when they could calculate on no protection from the country of their adoption. And it is due to the islanders to state, that their repugnance to foreigners, and their firm attachment to England,—unshaken from the period of the Conquest, continues, with increased, rather than diminished ardour, to this day.

The royal fleet returned to Holland about the middle of September; and on the 19th, the parliamentary squadron, which had followed "fair and far off," came into Goree road; but, the weather being very threatening, they entered the Sluys, and cast anchor about four miles from the revolted ships. The next day Lord Warwick

sent a summons, requiring them to lower the royal standard, and surrender to the parliament's authority; but this insolent message, received with great indignation by Lord Willoughby, made no impression upon the officers, nor visibly upon the men. On the 24th, Prince Charles sent an answer to the summons, "full of high languages;" and in the meantime a committee of the States of Holland went on board the parliament fleet, "who told the lord Admiral, that they had stood neuters all the war between the King and parliament, and therefore desired his lordship to commit no hostile act in their parts. His lordship answered them, that it was not his intention; but told them, he had power from the parliament to reduce the Kingdom's ships (now in their port, who had treacherously betrayed their trust) to their obedience; and if they should offer any affront, or do any prejudice to his lordship's ships, boats or men, that he would endeavour to right and defend himself: and then desired them, not to obstruct justice from those merchants and owners, whose ships and goods the revolters did wrongfully detain, and had now in their port."

"The revolters having gotten money to pay their seamen," continues Alexander Bence, from aboard the St. George,[1] "prepared five ships and more strength to oppose us: they have planted many of their ships guns ashore, and quartered land soldiers to defend their ships from us." Hereupon the States sent Van Tromp with his own ship and fifteen other Dutch men-of-war to lie midway between the hostile fleets; and it was well for the royalists that they took this precaution, for "had not Van-Butterbox," writes a flippant royalist,[2] "stept in

[1] Captain Bence to the Speaker.—Cary's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 15.

[2] Carte's Collection, vol. i. p. 174.

betwixt, the Prince's navy had been soon reduced; but the Hollander counsels Warwick to forbear in their harbours, and advise him to take heed how he affronts the Senior states."

All danger of immediate collision being thus prevented, the Prince left his fleet at Helvoetsluys, and came to the Hague; where the States received him with all outward show of respect. Besides the allowance of a thousand guilders a day for ten days, they entertained and lodged him handsomely enough at their own charge, at the Hotel de Ville, occupied by the Prince and Princess of Orange. At the expiration of five days' hospitality, his royal highness and the Duke of York took up their permanent abode at the palace, dining with the Prince of Orange; "who kept his own table open, according to the custom, for the resort of such members of the states, or officers of the army, or other noble persons who frequently repaired thither."

These domestic arrangements, exceedingly convenient to Prince Charles, no doubt, failed, however, to secure him from public annoyance: arising out of the low state of his finances, and the unruly conduct of his followers. The fleet was already in a state of mutiny from want of pay; "his own family factious, and in necessity;[1] and that of his brother full of intrigues and designs," owing to the restless unquiet spirit of Bamfield; and the ambitious, and equally jealous humour of Sir John Berkeley. The former still urged the seamen to refuse any commander but their own legitimate lord admiral, the Duke of York; and the latter, who was the duke's governor, so

[1] An account of Sir John Berkeley's receipts and payments at this period, containing details curious and instructive, is to be found among the Clarendon MSS.

disgusted him by his overbearing conduct, that his highness made a complaint against him to the queen. Berkeley insolently told him: "that he should know what he was; and that he would be his governor in despite of him, whereupon the Duke (then about thirteen years of age) made reply, with an oath (which he said was the first he ever swore, but was resolved to keep) that he should not be any governor of his,—and reprehended him sharply."

Great animosity, likewise, prevailed between Prince Rupert and Lord Culpepper, the latter a man of infirm temper, which much disturbed the prince's councils, and perplexed his counsellors. Culpepper and Secretary Long were accused of bribery and corruption, in giving up prizes taken in the Downs, and in disposing of cloth, sugar and other merchandises for their own benefit; which gave rise to brawls, even at the council-table. And "on Monday, the 23rd of October was spoiled the Lord Culpeper's face; which was thus: Prince Rupert having moved the Council, that Sir Robert Walsh would give 3000*l.* to Prince Charles, and 2000*l.* to Prince Rupert for the Prince's service for a sugar prize, which was taken whilst the fleet lay in the Downs, it was settled; and accordingly Sir Rob. Walsh endeavoured to procure the money by an Irish agent at the Hague, but nothing being done, the business was again called upon at the council. Prince Rupert told them he wondered at the resuming of a business, which had been settled before, by their own order to Sir Rob. Walsh. The Lord Culpeper said, Sir Robert was a shark, and a fellow not to be trusted. Prince Rupert replied, Sir Robert was his friend, and he must acquaint him with what was said, and his lordship must not

think to meet Sir Robert, but with his sword in his hand, he being a gentleman and a soldier. Lord Culpeper told Prince Rupert he had rather meet him with his sword in his hand, than Walsh, for he was a shark. Prince Rupert told his lordship 'twas malice for Derby house business; but his lordship answered he had no more correspondency with Derby house than himself: and so the Council rose, and afterwards reconciled the two, not taking notice of Walsh. But next morning Sir Robert met Lord Culpeper in the street, and told his lordship he had abused him and deserved—that,—giving him at the same time several blows on his face with his fist, whereof his lordship still keeps in." [1]

This outrage, says Clarendon, troubled the Prince exceedingly; "who immediately sent to the States to demand justice; and they, according to their method and slow proceedings in matters which they do not take to heart, caused Walsh to be summoned, and after so many days, for want of appearance, he was by sound of a bell publicly banished from the Hague; and so he made his residence in Amsterdam, or what other place he pleased. And this was the reparation the States gave the Prince for so ruffianly a transgression; and both the beginning and the end of this unhappy business exposed the Prince himself, as well as his council, to more disadvantage, and less reverence, than ought to have been paid to either."

Meanwhile Lord Warwick, prevented from attacking the royal fleet, by the intervention of "Van Butterbox,"—as Van Tromp was ungraciously designated by the reckless cavaliers,—did his best to induce the crews to desert, by

[1] Extract of letter, dated Hague, Nov. 3d, 1648—Carte's Collection, vol. i. p. 192.

"casting papers among them containing large offers and promises of pardon and indemnity." The mariners remaining staunch, he sent emissaries to corrupt those on shore, many of whom had been their messmates before the revolt. By dint of persuasion and jolly carousals in the taverns of the Hague, they succeeded in detaching many of the common men and some of the petty officers from their recent allegiance; and, in consequence, some of the ships voluntarily seceded from the Prince, and others allowed themselves to be recaptured with a mere show of resistance.

But this ill neighbourhood continued not long. The lord-admiral, being short of victuals, and prevented from obtaining any from shore, in consequence of the menacing attitude of the royalists; being, moreover, apprehensive of frosty weather, and of danger if ice should come down the river; he concluded that it would not be safe for the ships to ride any longer before Helvoetsluys. Therefore, upon the 21st of November he commanded the fleet to weigh anchor and set sail; which was done accordingly, and the fleet arrived in safety at the Downs on the 23d of the same month.[1]

The Prince of Wales had been laid up with the small-pox for about a month at the Hague; whilst the Duke of York, for fear of catching the infection, had been removed to Mr. Henflet's house at Tyluring. The Prince, however, was convalescent at the raising of the parliamentary blockade, and, therefore, enabled "to take an account himself of his melancholy and perplexed affairs."

Perplexed enough they were. His ships, close hauled up in the Sluys, and dismantled; requiring to be repaired,

[1] Capt. Alexander Bence to the Speaker.—Cary's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 60.

refitted and provisioned; their crews, insubordinate owing to Warwick's machinations, were again clamorous for want of pay; and money for all these purposes was hard to be obtained. Divers of the merchants, it is true, whose ships were taken in the Downs, had compounded for them, but the produce was speedily expended. Many rich prizes had been brought to the Hague, the sale of whose cargoes, at their full value, would have "amounted to a sufficient sum to pay the seamen their wages, and put in provisions enough to serve four months;" but the States, apprehensive that the English parliament, "which had a dreadful name," might claim restitution, forbade the sales: "although power and favour made the order not so well observed." The Prince of Orange advised the Prince, to lose no time in making complete sales of all that was to be sold; and the merchants, aware that the goods must be sold on the spot, and could not be taken to another market, "resolved to have good penny-worths."

Before, however, these forced sales could be undertaken, there were other claimants to be satisfied; the most urgent of these was the Lord Percy, in behalf of his sister, the Countess of Carlisle, who had pledged her pearl necklace, for fifteen hundred pounds, to furnish the Earl of Holland's expedition. The Prince had promised, that this sum should be paid out of the first money that could be raised upon the sale of a certain rich prize; and other captures had been engaged in like manner. So that double the value was delivered to satisfy these debts, and the remaining cargoes were sold at a very considerable sacrifice. "Upon this ground hasty bargains were made with all who desired to buy, and who would not buy unless they were sure to be great gainers."

A considerable balance of ready money was, nevertheless, realized, the greater part of which was sent to the fleet to pay the seamen; the Prince soon after proceeding to the Brill, to suppress mutiny and re-establish discipline. One great cause of discontent among the sailors, arose from their aversion to Batten and Jordan: the former being accused of cowardice for not engaging Lord Warwick at Queenborough: both were objects of suspicion as Presbyterians, and for being too well affected to the Londoners, and were forced, in conquence, to retire to Rotterdam. Allen, an old pirate, and many others of that kind, continued, in the meantime, "to rove up and down the sea coasts to meet with some purchase;" that is to say, some prize,—a matter of indifference whether friend or foe.

The vice-admiral, Lord Willoughby, who had also become unpopular owing to his taint of Presbyterianism, and his inexperience in naval affairs, had hitherto "stayed on board purely out of duty to the King; though he neither liked the place he had, nor the people over whom he was to command;" and therefore readily retired from the sea service. The question now arose as to who should command the fleet; a person of high rank, and no ordinary share of resolution, being required. No man was so well calculated for the office as Prince Rupert; but although he himself had no objection, the seamen had misgivings about him; and as the Prince of Wales could not undertake the charge, they were the more inclined to the Duke of York. But Prince Charles, objecting to his brother's appointment, as neither safe for him nor for the good of his majesty's service, was induced, under sound advice, to decide in favour of Prince Rupert.

Rupert, by the advice of Hopton, Hyde and others of the council, being appointed admiral and general of the royal fleet, joined it at Helvoetsluys. He was received by the majority of the ships with great apparent joy, and soon succeeded in restoring order among the crews; but, not until he had thrown two or three of the mutineers overboard, "by the strength of his own arms." The fiery ardour and warlike talents he had displayed on so many occasions on land, did not desert him on another element; and under his command the fleet soon became serviceable in the highest degree to its friends, and formidable to its foes. Prince Maurice was constituted vice-admiral, and second in command; and experienced naval officers were appointed to the several ships. These, cruising in the Channel, daily brought in prizes that contributed not only to the maintenance of Prince Charles, and his needy courtiers; but, aided most effectually in equipping the rest of the fleet for operations of still more vital importance,—namely, the resuscitation, as it was hoped and expected, of the sinking cause of royalty.

The most effectual means for compassing this desirable object was now earnestly debated; and as the province of Munster, with its numerous excellent ports, was entirely under the king's obedience, thanks to the exertions of Ormond and the co-operation of Inchiquin, Prince Charles and his council had little difficulty in determining, that the fleet should proceed to Ireland,—the best, if not the only place to which it could repair with any prospect of success. Its departure, however, was delayed, until the result of the procrastinated treaty of Newport should become known. It was originally intended that the Duke of York should accompany it; but he, having no desire to go to Ireland,

his brother, resolving not to venture his person at sea, although he kept this determination secret, sent the Duke to the Brill, to countenance Prince Rupert's proceedings, and to let it be believed that he intended to go further.[1]

As to the Prince of Wales, Hyde writes to Ormond, since it was not at present thought fit that his highness's person and the fleet should continue together, he hoped that he would repair to some place, so much at his disposal, that it would be no hard matter for them to meet again, whenever convenient; and wherever his presence might be most required.

The only place at his disposal was Jersey, and thither it was so far arranged for him to winter, "that directions were sent from Paris for him to put off as many of his followers as he could spare." A correspondence also was ordered to be settled between Ireland, Scilly and Jersey, so as to enable his highness to obtain early and certain information, in the latter place, of Ormond's proceedings, in order that he should embark from thence for Ireland, on the first favourable conjuncture. The queen, also, was lessening her train; and it was believed, that if her majesty could have received her allowance from the crown of France, she too would have accompanied her son to Jersey; desirous as she must have been to preserve her interest with him, which, she doubted, could not be so well done as by being continually with him.[2]

The troubles of the Fronde, however, had so impoverished the French exchequer, that even if Anne of Austria had been inclined to comply with the wishes of

[1] State Papers, vol. ii. p. 454.

[2] Carte's Collection, vol. i. p. 187; vol. ii. p. 359.

her sister-in-law, the means of doing so were not at her disposal. For although, just before this period, there had been a temporary accommodation between the queen regent and the chambers, it was purchased by "yielding to the populace all that they insisted on—*à la mode d'Angleterre.*"[1] At this time Jermyn informs Digby, who lets out the secret to Ormond, that "the ruby collar, which is the only remaining thing that could raise money, must be wholly applied to the redeeming of the queen her jewels."[2] Henrietta Maria's pecuniary difficulties ultimately reduced her to the necessity of soliciting assistance from the coadjutor De Retz; who readily and handsomely granted it, but, in the meantime, she was obliged to abandon all thoughts of rejoining her son for the present. When next they met, Charles was prepared to shake off the maternal yoke.

The melancholy circumstances which rendered him independent, were now in rapid progress towards completion. The king had been removed from Carisbrook; and on the 30th of November consigned to the custody of the burly, bearded captain of Hurst Castle; who received his royal charge, Swiss like, partizan in hand and basket hilt at side: much less obdurate, nevertheless, was this captain than his aspect was forbidding.[3] Even from this fastness his majesty's liberation was contemplated; for, on the authority of a trustworthy historian, we learn that at this time a scheme for the

[1] "The gens du Roy are newly returned from St. Germains, with the consent of the Queen regent, for the abating two millions (of livres) a year upon the City of Paris, to be taken off as the Parliament shall find most reasonable."—Carte's Collection, vol. i. p. 179.

[2] Carte's Life of Ormond, vol. iii. pp. 584—595.

[3] Mr. Hillier's narrative, p. 316.

king's escape was concerting among his faithful Jersey subjects.

Neither were the rebels, says the Rev. Philip Falle,[1] contented with their barbarous usage of his majesty in Carisbrook Castle, "where his life was threatened with poison and pistol; and as if his restraint there had not been severe enough, they transferred him to Hurst Castle, a most unhealthy place; without fresh water, annoyed with the stinking vapours and smoke that came out of the neighbouring marshes and salt-pans; and withal so straightened for lodgement, that this great king had hardly there the conveniencies which many an ordinary criminal finds in a common jayl. ——

"When the report of so monstrous and unheard-of a wickedness came to us in Jersey, it struck us all with horror; and there appeared a zeal and forwardness in many of our bravest and most resolute islanders to endeavour, at the peril of their lives to rescue the captive King, by surprising the castle.

"The thing, though difficult and hazardous, was not thought absolutely impossible; because, as all ships from these parts, and from the west going in the port of Southampton, must and do of course pass close by this castle, so it was presumed that four or five vessels of this island, with a sufficient number of chosen hands, concealed under hatches, might come so near without creating a jealousy, as to give opportunity to the men to sally forth suddenly and scale the walls.

"For some years after the restoration, when the past evil times were fresh in men's memories, and more subject of discourse than they are now, I well remember

[1] A staunch royalist and zealous churchman, Dean of Jersey, Prebendary of Durham, and one of William the Third's chaplains.

to have heard such a design talked of among our people, and gloried in as an instance of our loyalty, at least in purpose and intention, but was yet too young to enter into an affair of that nature.[1] So that how far the design was pursued, or what hindered the execution of it, I cannot take upon myself to say. 'Tis possible the King's being hurried to his trial, before things could be got in readiness, might cause the same to miscarry. But this I may with confidence affirm, that there was nothing within our power which we would not most gladly have done to save his precious life."

The king was removed from Hurst to Windsor Castle; the ordinance was passed for attainting his majesty of high treason; and the question of bringing him before a special commission, continued to be debated before the lords and commons, to the end of 1648.

[1] Falle was born in 1655, and published the above remarks in 1694.

CHAPTER IV.

ROYALIST INSURRECTION IN SCILLY—NEWS OF THE KING'S EXECUTION REACHES JERSEY—PROCLAMATION OF CHARLES THE SECOND—FACTIONS AT THE HAGUE—THE YOUNG KING UNCERTAIN WHITHER TO GO—HIS JOURNEY FROM HOLLAND—ARRIVAL AT PERONNE—ENTERTAINMENT AT COMPEIGNE—THE HEIRESS OF ORLEANS—THE KING DETERMINES TO GO TO JERSEY—SIR GEORGE CARTERET IN ATTENDANCE AT ST. GERMAIN'S—HE IS SENT TO JERSEY TO MAKE ARRANGEMENTS FOR HIS MAJESTY'S ARRIVAL.

On the 16th of January, of the opening year, Sir John Grenville arrived in Jersey, bringing intelligence that, the Prince of Wales had thought proper to defer his journey thither till the spring; and he also reported that, when he quitted the Hague, the royal fleet, under Prince Rupert, was on the point of setting sail for Ireland.

In order to account for Grenville's presence in Jersey, it will be necessary to follow Chevalier in his retrospection, respecting the affairs of Scilly. These islands, he says, a few months after Prince Charles's departure from thence, surrendered to the parliamentarians;[1] who, driving

[1] Mr. Chyrurgeon Hoselock furnishes us with the following—

"True and perfect relation of the surrender of the strong and impregnable garrison of the Island of Scillie, to Captain Batten, Vice-Admirall of the parliamênt's Navie at Sea. August 25th. 1646.

"Loving friend,

"In my last I writ to you at large of all our proceedings at Pendennis. But since I have been in the castle, I can give you more true

Mr. Godolphin into exile, appointed a governor of their own, Mr. Buller, a gentleman of family, influence, and fortune in his place. The inhabitants, however, deeply imbued with royalist sentiments, and encouraged in their aversion to Roundhead domination, by secret emissaries sent among them by the queen, took example, from the risings in Wales and other parts of the kingdom, to form a plot for getting rid of their new masters, which they put in execution early in the month of September, 1648.

One Sunday morning, whilst the governor and his principal officers were at church, the conspirators rose, and seized upon the Castle of St. Mary's; imprisoned those of the garrison who refused to join them; and when the governor, unconscious of their stratagem, entered the castle, on his return from church, he also was made prisoner. The royalist insurgents, finding themselves complete masters of the place, despatched a boat to Holland with messages for the prince, informing him how Scilly was again reduced to his majesty's obedience; and imploring, that instant succours might be sent over. His highness, thereupon, caused the Crescent

and just account; of which more in the ensuing letter, because I thought it meet to insert in this place, the gallant proceedings of our Vice-Admirall in the reducing of the Island of Silly, viz., upon the 24th of August, 1646. Some of the chiefe Commanders of the garrison of the Island of Silly (having before sent a trumpetter to the Vice-admirall for a treaty) came aboord the Andrew, where she laid open, and presented their propositions for the surrendering of that Island. Where, after some consultation between the Vice-Admirall and the rest of his officers, their earnest requests were admitted; and immediately began to debate upon the Articles; and at last concluded that the garrison and Island of Silly, with all the ordnance, armes and ammunition should be surrendered to Captain Batten, Vice-admirall of the Parliament's Navie, upon the 25th of August 1646."—King's Pamphlets.

frigate to proceed thither with provisions and other necessaries; and designated Sir John Grenville to be governor of Scilly.[1]

The Roundheads at Plymouth, on hearing of this revolt, became seriously alarmed for their trade; well aware that, if the Scillies were allowed to remain in the hands of the royalists, their privateers would soon assemble there; and, from thence, infest the Channel, so that no merchantman would be safe, unless under strong convoy. They therefore determined to send their governor, Captain Ashe, who had formerly been commandant of another castle, on a secret mission to St. Mary's; in order to induce the islanders, by bribes and promises, to return to parliamentary allegiance; retake the castle, and again expel the cavaliers. Little success, however, attended Ashe's negotiations, he being too well known by previous harsh treatment of the king's friends to be trusted on this occasion. He had not been in Scilly more than two or three days, when Captain Skinner arrived there in the Crescent, a frigate of fourteen guns. The stores sent over by the prince having been landed, the insurgents laid hands upon Captain Ashe, Mr. Buller, the ex-governor, one of his officers and three servants, put them on board the frigate, and directed Captain Skinner to convey them all to Jersey, and place them in the safe keeping of Sir George Carteret. This being done, Skinner, who had formerly been one of Carteret's lieutenants, took his departure on his return to Scilly.[2]

[1] On the 30th of September Ormond writes to Jermyn as follows:—"The Scilly business seems to be but a tumultuary rising of the common soldiers; and I fear will come to nothing, unless care be taken to reduce it into order by some good governor, and money with other provisions."—Carte's Life, vol. iii. p. 583.

[2] During the voyage, however, he was captured by the parliamen-

Sir George detained the two principal delinquents, but allowed the third to go to England, on *parole;* for the purpose of raising a sum of money, to ransom the whole. Instead of the ransom, however, there came a letter from Sir Thomas Fairfax, containing proposals to treat for exchange of prisoners, addressed to "Captain Carteret, who holds for the king;" but, the word, "king," had been erased, and the superscription ran; "To Captain Carteret, and to all those who are of his party." In a short time another letter came from Fairfax, with similar propositions. Whether Sir George answered them cannot be ascertained, any more than the subsequent fate of Mr. Buller and Captain Ashe; but the Clarendon Papers supply the copy of a letter, on the subject, without date or signature, evidently from Charles the Second to Sir George Carteret:—

"Trusty and wellbeloved Servant. Wee greete. Whereas ther are certeyne prysoners in custody in that our Island, who were sent from our Iland of Silly, shortly after the same were reduced to our obedyence; since which tyme wee understande some officers under your commande have been taken prysoners by the Rebells; havinge bene imployed in the relief of Sylly." (Skinner probably was one of these officers.)

tarians, as we learn from an entry in Rushworth (vol. vii. 1340):— "Tuesday, November 28th, 1648, the House was informed that the Crescent frigate, which hath long been a pirate, and a robber on the western coasts, was taken by some men of war. They ordered that it should be referred to the Committee of the Admiralty to try Captain Skinner, and the rest of the Pirates in the Crescent frigate, and that they speedily be brought to judgement, according to the practice, and course of the admiralty." There is also a notice in Whitelocke, on the same day, to the like effect.

"Our will and pleasure therfore is, that you exchange the said prysoners of Sylly, for the redemption of those your officers. And for so doinge this shall be your Warrant. Given under our signe manuall this day of (*vacat in MS.*) in the first yeere of our raigne."

The original of the foregoing letter was probably brought to Jersey by Sir John Grenville, who came there on his way to his seat of government, accompanied by his chaplain, Dr. Morley, a royalist colonel;[1] six or seven other individuals of his suite, and a couple of very fine horses. On the 22d of January he was joined by Mr. Jasper Cornelius,[2] a native of Southampton, another royalist colonel, and a detachment of soldiers; all destined for the isles of Scilly.

During Grenville's stay in Jersey Mr. Francis Carteret, one of the late Sir Philip's numerous sons, Captain Gavet, with several brave English cavaliers, and twenty young Jerseymen from the parishes of St. Ouen's and St. John's, volunteered their services for Scilly; and

[1] This colonel, whose name is not mentioned, is stated by Chevalier to have been the officer who, disguised by a huge flowing wig, succeeded in delivering the queen's letters to Charles the First in the Isle of Wight, during the month of September, 1648. The rebels having discovered, that some messenger from abroad had gained access to his Majesty, made diligent search for such a person, but in vain; they even went on board the queen's frigate that had brought him over, and in which he was at that very time concealed—but so effectually as to be invisible to those who sought him. The frigate, freighted expressly for the purpose of carrying despatches, and armed with fifteen cannon, set sail immediately after, and re-conveyed the messenger safely into France. This description agrees so well with that of Major Bosville, given in the Memorials of the Civil War, and by Mr. Hillier, that we have little doubt as to the identity of the major and the colonel.

[2] Cornelius was one of the political agents so frequently alluded to by Hyde and others.

Sir George presented each of the latter with a scarlet jerkin, as a distinctive uniform; in token of his approbation for their zeal in the royal cause. On the 2d of February, Sir John Grenville and his party took their departure; but, the wind being foul, they put back, and set sail again on the 9th, under a salute of seven guns from Elizabeth Castle.

A letter from the Clarendon manuscripts, of which the following is an extract, bears relation to the foregoing account from Chevalier:—

"Mr. John Nicolle to Mr. Edgeman.

"Castle Elizabeth the 23rd Jan. S. V. 1649

"Sir

"I have deferred writing to you hitherto, in hope that you would be here according to your resolution, which was taken in that behalfe, at my coming away from Holland: but I perceave the case is altered, and that wee shall not enjoy your good company so sudainly (yf at all) as we did expect. Sir G. Carteret tells me that there came newly a letter into his hands directed to me, which by the hand writing he conceaves to have come from you; but, eyther it is mislayd, or altogether lost, for as yet he cannot find it, which I am sorry for, both because I shall thereby misse the honour you intended to me, and still remayne in ignorance how my busines with Sir John Digby stands at present, not having heard from him since I left you, but onely that he was sorry he was not in place to satisfy me, and would deferre it till his returne into Holland, but he makes no mention when that shall be. * * * *

"Sir John Grenville hath been here this sevenight with those which accompanyed him by land; and since Mr. Cornelius &c, are come by sea, and the wind hath been easterly so long that we despayre seeing Pr Rupert, and his fleet; it being (as we conceave) ere this time past us for Ireland: and I pray God that be the worst newes wee hear of it. Mr. Edw Carteret, sayd to be upon his way hitherwards, is expected with much devotion, being laden (as Cornelius sayth) with commissions for arminge at sea agayne.[1] I beseech you to present my humble respects and duty to Mr. Chancellor &c.

"To Mr. Edgeman, I. N,
Secretary to the Right honourable
Sir Edward Hyde Kt. &c."

Mr. Nicolle again writes to Edgeman on the 12th of February: "Sir John Grenville and his company, all but Mr. Jane (who is not yet come from Caen), sett sayle on Friday last for Silly: where, no doubt, they are safely arrived ere this, the wind having been fayre since theyr going aboard."[2]

Sir George Carteret again set about levying taxes on the islanders; distraining confiscated estates; victualling his castles; and banishing malcontents, for uttering seditious language against his proceedings. These preparations were indicative of warfare, offensive as well as defensive; for, about this time the design of invading Guernsey was revived, as we learn from various correspondents; among others from the Prince himself.

[1] It is probable that, whilst the negotiations at the Isle of Wight were pending, there was a cessation of privateering, now about to be resumed.

[2] Clarendon MSS.

"To Sir George Carteret, Bart.

"Charles P.

"Trustie and welbeloved, wee greet you well. Wee having sometyme since conferred the command of his Maj^ties^ Fleete upon our Rig^t^ dear, and right entirely beloved cousin, Prince Rupert, he hath by his great industry and endeavour brought the same into a condition to bee ready to set sayle with the first opportunity; and hath instructions from us to put into Jersey and to endeavour the reduction of Guernsey, if he shall have meanes to attempt the same, with probability of succesee. Wee intreate you, therfore, not onely to give him your best advice in that particular, but all the assistance you may in case he shall think fit to make any attempt upon the said island of Guernsey.

"Given under our hand and seale the eleaventh day of Januarye, in the 24^th^ yeare of the Reigne of the King our Royall Father.

"Sir George Carteret, Baronett
Lieutenant Governour of the Island of Jersey."

The prevalence of easterly winds, and a desire to reach Ireland as soon as possible, disinclined Prince Rupert from wasting time in doubtful and minor expeditions. He set sail from Helvoetsluys January 21st, O. S., and, steering a direct course, reached Kinsale in safety on the 30th. Whether he obeyed the injunctions contained in the following letter, or not, we have been unable to discover.

"To Prince Rupert.

"Charles P.

"Right deare and right entirely beloved Cousin we greet you well. We are assured that it is not unknowne to you how much it importeth the King our Royall father and us, to preserve and supply Castle Cornett in the isle of Guernsey. We intreate you therefore, if the ship now taken, prove good prize, to send at least five hundred pounds of the proceeds thereof, unto our trusty and wellbeloved Sir George Carteret, Knight, Lieutenant Governor of the island of Jersey, to be employed in provisions, ammunition and necessaries for the supply of the said Castle Cornett.

"Given under our hand & seale at the Hague the $\frac{17}{27}$ of January, 1649.

"To our Right deare and right entirely beloved Cousin Prince Rupert."[1]

"The day after twelfth day, the Duke of York quitted the Hague," and began his journey towards France, with a small train; having dismissed many of his servants,[2]

[1] The originals of both these letters, now in the possession of the author of these volumes, were derived from Mr. Bentley's collection. The first has already been published in Warburton's Memoirs of Prince Rupert.

[2] The Clarendon Manuscripts supply "a list of the Duke's servants, which were dismissed November 14th, 1648":—

"Peter Massonett, sublector; John Leigh, Francis Smith, gentlemen ushers; Richard Johnson, Richard Myurt, Nicholas Armens and John Browne, gentlemen wayters; Thomas Heywood, page of the bed-

some time before. He did not, however, make his appearance at the Louvre, where his mother then resided, until the 13th of February; having been retarded by the badness of the roads, and the frequent interruptions from the French king's troops, surrounding Paris and blockading Rouen, so that not even the post was allowed to pass between those towns. When affairs were more settled, the duke waited on the king and queen-regent at St. Germain's, and then returned to Paris, where he sojourned until the arrival of his brother, later in the year.

The Prince of Wales, soon after his brother's departure from the Hague, reduced his household, with the intention of retiring to Breda, a town belonging particularly to the Prince of Orange, who derived from it a considerable revenue, which, it was said, he meant to assign for his highness's maintenance. This town being on the borders of Flanders, was well situated for a correspondence with the Duke of Lorraine, who had "very great affections for the King and Prince's service," —and on the latter coming thither, "the Prince of Orange, out of his great bounty and care of the prince's family, now in extreme poverty," took a list of the servants remaining after the reduced establishment; and settled on them a certain allowance of board-wages, according to the rate he allowed his own servants, which was

chamber; William Baker; Richard Belcher, groome of the Chamber; Hugh Rosse, groome of the Great Chamber; Lewis Hill; Richard Snead, tailor; George Seawill, yeoman cooke; Andrew Snapes, marshall farrier; John Wright, coachman; Richard Noble, postillion; John Atkinson, groome; Tho. Nicholls, groome; Henry Coursey, John Anderson, John Rosse, John Praty, footmen.

"Signed, JOHN BERKELEY."

to be paid them by Monsieur Henflet, justly and punctually.

News from London had of late been tardy in reaching the Hague; but, at length came the alarming intelligence, that commissioners had been appointed to constitute a high court of justice in Westminster Hall; "for trying and judging Charles Stuart, King of England." This startling announcement occasioned the greatest consternation at the Prince of Wales's small court; and his highness, determined to make some decided effort in behalf of his unhappy father, immediately demanded an audience of the States General of Holland, which was granted without hesitation.

"Prince Charles," writes Sir Walter Strickland to the Speaker: "in a few words, in English, intimated to the states the danger the king was in; how much it concerned all states sensible of it; but said, in respect he spoke nothing but English, he left it to Sir William Boswell to relate these things more at large.

"Sir William inveighed very much against the late proceedings of the House of Commons, calling them a few members carrying on business against the rest, and against the house of peers, so as now it was no parliament, and much more to that purpose, ended with a desire the states would send their ambassadors to intercede. This was assented to by the states of Holland, so that the ambassadors used only persuasions, not threats, and so carried themselves as to observe the neutrality. The ambassadors should have begun their journey on Tuesday last, being the 16th, but after desired to see this week's letters, so go not till to-morrow.——

"The lord Jochimy you know: he is the ordinary ambassador, the other is called the lord Hemstead, alias Paw; he was once ambassador in England, and also in France; and was one of the plenipotentiaries at Munster, and is one of as much credit and power in Holland, as any one I know; and therefore I humbly conceive it for the service of the house, as things now stand, to give him all personal respects, (for as for his embassage I have nothing to say to it) that he may, if it be possible, return well satisfied as tō himself; for he may do you much good if he will; and the contrary, if he be so minded: for he is an able, wise man, and much esteemed here."[1]

The ambassadors went from the Hague to Flushing, on the 21st of January, to take shipping for England; there being none of their men-of-war ready in these parts. The night before they went, "they came to take their leaves of the Prince, and made extraordinary professions to him of their affections and diligence in the negogiation, from which good fruits were expected."

By the same vessel that took the ambassadors, the prince despatched Henry Seymour with a private letter for his father, enclosing a blank paper to which only his sign and seal were affixed, to be filled up with any conditions for sparing his father's life the parliament might have the conscience to impose on him. No notice was taken of the *carte blanche;* the enclosure remained unopened. The feeble intercessions of the Dutch ambassadors were of no avail; and Charles the First was beheaded.

When the sad news reached the prince, it found him

[1] Cary's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 106.

unprepared for so speedy and fatal a result, although he was well aware of his father's desperate condition. But, says Hyde, "the barbarous stroke so surprized him, that he was in all the confusion imaginable, and all about him were almost bereft of their understanding." The rough draught by Lord Clarendon, of a letter from the young king to his mother, "after the murder of his father," contains too many commonplace phrases to be relied on as expressions of real grief: for some reason, unassigned, it was not sent to the queen.[1]

"The states general came then to the now king," writes Sir George Radcliffe,[2] "to condole with him on the murder (so they justly called it) of the late King his royal Father, and did acknowledge his now majesty to be (as his father's heir and successor) rightful and lawful King of England &c. And did offer his now majesty their best assistance for the recovery of his crowns and rights, professing a very great detestation of so horrid an action as had been committed on the Royal person of our gracious sovereign and master; and saying that it was not possible there could be any government where the king or chief magistrate should be liable to be called to account for their actions by the people."

"The ministers in Holland came likewise in a body to the king, and declared their detestation of the said horrid murder; and the Sunday following they preached in most of the churches thereabouts, against the impiety and wickedness thereof: whereby the people are very much enraged against all that have favoured or assisted, any way, the rebels in England; insomuch that Strickland

[1] State Papers, vol. ii. p. 470.

[2] February ¼, 1649.—See Carte's Collection, vol. i. p. 223.

(their agent there) dares not go out of his lodgings for fear the people will tear him in pieces. But tho' the people in France do generally abominate the said horrid murder, yet I do not hear that Augier is in any sort disquieted in Paris."

The condolence of the States, generally and individually, and their offers of assistance, seem rather at variance with their previous and subsequent conduct. Clarendon commends them for their civility, "save that there was not bitterness enough against the rebels," in their address. He is, however, appeased and consoled by an oration, "in very good latin," delivered by the chief preacher at the Hague, the representative of the body of the clergy, lamenting the misfortune, "in terms of as much asperity, and detestation of the actors, as unworthy of the name of Christians, as could be expressed."

Rumours of the catastrophe at Whitehall are brought to Jersey on the 7th of February (O. S.), as we learn from Chevalier and from Nicolle.[1] The latter informs his friend Edgeman, that "Captain Skynner, and Knight, who were taken in the Crescent frigate, having broke prison, are come hither, and bring very sad news." In a day or two the report is confirmed by Colonel Pawlet (probably Sir John Pawlet) and Mr. Mons; who arrive from England through France, each wearing a black mourning scarf across his shoulders; and round their necks a significant black ribbon.

Sir George, however, who has not as yet received any official report, affects to discredit the rumour, alleging

[1] Chevalier writes the name thus, the English call him either Nicols or Nicholls.

that he has recently received letters from Prince Charles's secretary in France, in which the melancholy event is not even alluded to. The truth is, we are told, he is unwilling that the real state of affairs should transpire prematurely, lest the soldiers of his garrisons should be disheartened, and, perchance, incline to mutiny and desertion. He however assembles the members of the royal court, to hold a sort of cabinet council touching island affairs; and the result of the conference is, an order for the domiciliation of soldiers in the dwellings of certain suspected persons, whilst other disaffected individuals are sent into immediate banishment. These precautionary measures are adopted for fear of a sudden rising among the malcontents, when the truth comes to be revealed; but they go to prove that the governor is neither so incredulous nor ill-informed as he pretends to be.

The generality of the inhabitants, however, are convinced of the truth of the report; the more loyal being overwhelmed with grief for the present, and anxiety for the future. Even the disaffected are stricken with astonishment and dismay; and when Sunday comes, the officiating clergy are in a state of great perplexity; not knowing what part of the service to omit, or what retain. Some exclude the name of the king, in the usual formulary for the royal family, praying only for the Queen and the Prince of Wales; whilst others continue to offer up their prayers as usual for the king; mentally substituting the name of the surviving son, for that of the martyred father.

On Tuesday, the 13th, however, all doubt as to the reality of the tragical occurrence is removed from men's minds; the governor receives letters from Secretary

Nicholas, at Caen, containing a full and particular account of how his gracious majesty, Charles the First, was beheaded on the 30th day of January, before the window of his own palace.

"Le Roi fut mis à mort," continues Chevalier, "par sentence d'une cour arbitraire et usurpée au dessus des lois Divines et humaines: les propres sujets du Roi lui ayant fait couper la tête, comme à un criminel! O crime horrible, énorme, détestable et abominable, s'il en fut jamais. Choses inouies parmi les générations précédentes, même les plus barbares! On lit bien dans les histoires payennes, que des Empereurs et des Rois ont été mis à mort, mais non par des sentences judiciaires, comme celui-ci. On trouve bien que les uns ont été mis prisonniers, et d'autres gardés en prison, d'autres assassinés, empoissonés, d'autres tués par l'épée, d'autres poignardés en trahison, comme en France parmi les papistes, bigots, enthousiastes, et antichrétiens: mais toutes ces morts tragiques & sanguinaires ont été commises par des meurtriers particuliers, et non pas condamnés publiquement, comme le Roi d'Angleterre, auquel ont fit son procés, comme à un criminel; et il endura la mort paisiblement, comme l'agneau qu'on tue à la boucherie."

Popular grief, however intense or violent, is never enduring, and easily appeased by public ceremonial. On the Saturday following the announcement of the execution, a revulsion from gloomy sorrow to joyous glee was produced in Jersey, by the proclamation of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, as King of England. At two o'clock in the afternoon of February the 17th, the Vicomte (Laurence Hamptonne), accompanied by the proper authorities, commenced reading

the proclamation,[1] in due form, at the market-cross; and repeated it at other stations, appropriated to the publication of official notices. A signal gun from the Cemetery announced the termination of each reading, when the garrison of Elizabeth Castle instantly responded by a salvo of artillery. The governor, who headed the procession, repeated in a loud voice the last words of the sheriff, "Vive le Roi Charles, second du nom," waving his hat as he spoke; the populace, now uproarious with delight, flung their beavers into the air, and joined in the loyal chorus; mingling their shouts with the roll of drums, the roar of cannon, and the braying of trumpets.[2]

The next day the proclamation was read to the soldiers of Elizabeth Castle; and on the following to those at Mont Orgueil, with all proper ceremonies, after which the document, engrossed on parchment, was affixed to the door of the court-house; and on the succeeding sabbath prayers were offered up in all the churches, for the happiness and prosperity of his new Majesty.[3] The gentry of the island, and the more distinguished among the English residents, assumed mourning for the late king; those who professed the greatest loyalty and deepest affliction wearing the black scarf across the shoulders, and the black ribbon round the neck, in addi-

[1] A copy of this Proclamation will be found in the Appendix.

[2] Almost every modern author who notices the event, states that Charles the Second was proclaimed in the Channel Islands. It is clear that he was only proclaimed in Jersey, and for obvious reasons,—Guernsey and its dependent islands were staunch to the parliament, and Charles was not proclaimed there till the 31st of May, 1660.

[3] "The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer, March 6 to 13th, 1648-9," that is, nearly a month after this affair, publishes its telegraphic despatch, announcing that, "by letters from Garnsey it was this day certified that Sir George Carteret hath caused Prince Charles to be proclaymed King of England, which is said to be done with great triumph and solemnity."

tion to the ordinary livery of woe. In a short time the states were assembled, and the governor administered to them the oath of allegiance and supremacy, according to a form adopted on the accession of James the First. The states then ordered a day of solemn fast and prayer to avert Almighty wrath; to call down blessings on the head of the new monarch; and to hasten his restoration. The day appointed was rigidly kept; and after prayers, sermons were preached, in order to point out to the people the heinous iniquity of laying violent hands on the sacred person of a sovereign; the appropriate texts being, says Chevalier, "Touch not mine anointed," and "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's."

In the meantime, Charles, King of Scotland, the only title by which he was recognised by the rebels, continued in Holland, "furnished with blacks, and other mournful emblems of his father's death, besides all things necessary for his support, by the bounty of the Prince of Orange, whose most signal kindnesses deserve to be recorded. Towards any other support for himself and his family," including of course Mrs. Lucy Walters, about to become the mother of master James Crofts, at Rotterdam, "he had not enough to maintain them one day: and there were few among his followers who could maintain themselves in the most private way."

"The king was here attended," says Heath, the not over veracious ultra royalist historian, "by the Lord Marquis of Montross, the Lords Hopton, Wilmot, Culpeper, Wentworth, and other great personages; Sir Edward Hyde, Sir Edward Nicholas,[1] and a noble

[1] Nicholas came as far as Havre from Caen to take shipping for Holland, but receiving the king's commands to remain in France; he had returned to Caen, and could not, therefore, have been in attendance at the Hague.—See Carte's Collection.

(though poor) retinue of old cavaliers, who had vowed his majesty's fortunes. The relator[1] was present, when my lord Loughborough added Colonel Massey to that number, both of them kissing the king's hand the same morning; my lord in his majesties privy chamber, where he was received by the king with all possible gladness and joy of his escape, and other endearments; the Colonel in the Presence chamber, where before his majesty's entrance, he was interrogated by way of droll by the Marquis of Montross 'How Oliver's nose did!'[2] but yet very respectfully and civilly treated by all the company present; and confirmed into the King's service and trust, by his majestics gracious acceptation of his sorrow for his former actions, and his resolutions of reparetory duty."

Clarendon thinks it necessary to apologise for Charles's "so soon recovering his spirits after the horrid and deadly blow inflicted on his parent," by stating that, however desperate his condition, he was rescued from sinking under the burden of his grief by those about him, who solicited him to resume so much courage as was necessary for his present station. He acquiesced, with little apparent effort, and complying with the wishes of his very disinterested advisers, "speedily caused those of his father's council, who had attended him, to be sworn of his privy council, adding only Mr. Long his secretary."[3] These appointments took

[1] Query James Heath, or Colonel Francis Heath, his cousin, who had been engaged in the defence of Colchester?

[2] Massey had abandoned his former allies, and escaped from their indignant clutches; Hollis had recently pulled Ireton by the nose. It was the fashion to pull noses, but none dared interfere with the prominent feature of the most prominent man in the infant Commonwealth, except to mock at its rubicundity.

[3] Mr. Long, it must be observed, was a better penman, and a greater

place before the arrival of a letter from the queen, in which she besought her son not to swear any persons to be of his privy council, until she could speak with him; and her majesty also wrote to him that he could not do better than repair to France as soon as convenient. But the king, remembering the slight courtesy he had experienced from the French court, had little inclination to go thither. Having, moreover, tasted the sweets of liberty with a court of his own, however poverty-stricken and insignificant, he was no longer disposed to submit to the control it was evident his mother still intended to exercise over him. Although fully prepared, it is said, to pay her all manner of filial respect, compatible with his present dignity, he was resolved to avoid an interview, which he was aware would only lead to discussions in regard to the appointment of his advisers, and the selection of his companions: the latter reason, probably, having more weight with him than the former.

He had some time past been importuned by Culpepper, Percy and Long, the queen's familiars, to go to Scotland; but his own desires pointed towards Ireland, where he expected to be less under restraint,—in short, more of a king there than in any other place. His predilection was encouraged by flattering accounts of the improving aspect of affairs, and urgent invitations from Ormond and Rupert; in addition to the advice of many members of his council, who were warmly in favour of his transporting himself to Ireland. Among these counsellors, Hyde evidently was one; for in a letter to

favourite with the queen, than his rival, Mr. Secretary Nicholas. The latter, therefore, after being invited to Holland, was remanded, as we have seen, and, although constantly solicitous of being near the king, was not allowed to join him until the succeeding autumn.

Lord Hatton he says, "I wish I could tell you we were as ready for Ireland, as Ireland is for us; or that the spring made us more vigorous than the winter."

Charles only awaited an arrangement between Ormond, Inchiquin and the confederates, to decide; and when that arrangement was announced to him he wrote the following note:—

"The King to the Marquis of Ormonde.[1]

"At the Hague, March 9, 1649.

"My lord

"I have lately received from the Lord Byron a copy of the Articles of Peace which you have made in Ireland, together with a copy of your letter to me: and am extremely well satisfied with both, and will confirm wholly and entirely all that is contained in the articles.

"I must not forget to give thanks to you and the lord Inchiquin, for your singular care, industry, and prudence in the carriage of this business; intreating you in my name to thank all those that have been actors in the negotiation, and contributors to the happy conclusion of this peace; which I hope, by the blessing of God, may prove an effectual means to my re-establishment in my other dominions.

"I will make all haste I can to come to you into Ireland, intending for my better security to pass over land through France, and to embarque at Rochelle; and will use my best endeavours to procure supplies for you, and ever remain

"Your loving friend

"Charles R."

[1] Carte's Collection, vol. ii. p. 363.

The queen, meanwhile, having perused despatches brought over from her son, by Lord Byron, sent his lordship, two days after his arrival, back to the Hague with instructions for the king, in which she urged him, for the good of his affairs, to transport himself with all possible speed to Ireland. She suggested the reducing of his train to the smallest number possible, and his borrowing from the states some ships of war, to convey all that were not in absolute attendance on his person; "either to Port Louis, Rhode, Conquet, or Rochelle;" to await his rejoining them. On his way she desired him to pass through France, that, in her great affliction, she might be comforted by seeing him; and enjoy the opportunity of conferring with him, on those arrangements which might be found necessary for the advancement of his service. Her majesty also recommended him to reconcile the Scotch party to the necessity of his repairing to Ireland; and assured him, that, on her part, she would procure passports and assurances from Paris, for his honourable reception there and removal from thence, and send them to meet him in Flanders; so that he need not stay in Holland longer than was needful to make preparations for his journey.

"We are here in Paris," writes one of her courtiers on the 18th of March, "in a very unsettled condition, our family being on the point of breaking up, such is the want; as likewise a remove is certainly intended, for which reason our court is not yet put into mourning. Her majesty, as I hear, intends for Flanders or Rouen. The design is certainly to meet the King. The Lord Jermin is now at St. Germains, and (as is conceived) about his majesty's free passage if he comes through

France. Dr. Goffe is sent to Flanders upon the same occasion, but as yet no return from him."

The breaking up of her majesty's establishment in Paris, the fact of her court not being put into mourning a full month after the announcement of her husband's death, and the prospect of her being constrained to retire for a season to the Carmelites, sufficiently point out the pecuniary distress she was in at this period;—chiefly owing, as it was alleged, to the mismanagement of her revenue by Jermyn. These circumstances fully account for the readiness with which she abandoned the cherished scheme of sending her son to Scotland, and her anxiety to assist him in repairing to Ireland, whither it was now her intention to accompany or follow him, if there could be any hope of subsistence for her in that kingdom.

Unconscious of this alteration in her views, the Scotch faction at the Hague wrote to her majesty: "that, unless she forthwith came into Holland in person to employ her interest with the King, to prevent the advices of his counsellors, who had too great power with him, and opposed all good men, and all the queen's ways, all people there dispaired of any good. This the queen repeated with much scorn, and with a deserved character of the persons who proposed it to her majesty:" and being persuaded that it was a design of Lord Culpepper's to divert the journey into Ireland, she declared that "his lordship's expectation should be deceived, and that the world should see that no worldly thing should be valued by her in comparison of the welfare of the King and his party."[1]

[1] Carte's Collection.

"The King himself," as we are told by Lord Byron,[1] "is resolutely bent for Ireland, and is only stayed here for want of money, which his brother the Prince of Orange (I doubt) cannot, and the States say they will not furnish him with, unless he go to Scotland and take the Covenant: that is the plain English of it, tho' they speak it not openly. The Princess Dowager of Orange is drawn into this Cabal on another score; for she is made to believe the King shall marry her daughter, if he comply with the Scots in their desires; and my lord Percy is the chief agent in this business, both upon the promises he hath of establishing his own fortune in case he can effect it, and upon a prudent consideration that Ireland will hardly brook so serpentine a nature as his is."

Sir Joseph Douglas had recently come to the Hague, announcing to Charles that he had been proclaimed King of Scotland by the privy council of that kingdom, who intended sending him an invitation to repair thither; on condition of "his good behaviour, strict observance of the Covenant, and his entertaining no other persons about him but such as were godly men, and faithful to that obligation." At the same time, but not in the same ship, arrived the Earl of Lauderdale and Earl of Lanerick, (now Duke of Hamilton,) fain to fly for their moderation: but "abating not an ace of their damned Covenant, in all their discourses." The Marquis of Montrose was also there, "and clean of another temper, abhorring even the moderate party of his countrymen." Then came the Earls of Calender and Seaforth, the Lords St. Claire and Napier, and old William Murray. "These, tho' all of one nation,"

[1] Byron to Ormond, Hague, March 30th. Carte's Collection, vol. i. p. 238.

continues Byron, "are subdivided into factions. The M. of Montrose with the lords St. Claire and Napier are very earnest for the King's going into Ireland: all the rest oppose it, tho' in several ways. I find the Duke of Hamilton very moderate, and certainly he would be much more, were it not for the violence of Lauderdale who haunts him like a fury. Calender and Seaforth have a faction apart, and so hath William Murray, employed here by Argyle."

To these were added in a short time the Earl of Cassilis, two burgesses, and four divines—commissioners from the kirk of Scotland, whose propositions were as insolent as those of their precursors. They required, that all malignants and evil counsellors, particularly Montrose, should be banished from the court; that his majesty should take both the national Covenant, and the Holy League and Covenant, as they termed it; and establish a Presbyterian government in all his kingdoms. All these conditions he refused; but, being now unfortunately in a Presbyterian country, he could not, freely, express his resentment at these indignities, and therefore postponed any debate on the propositions concerning his other kingdoms, as well as Scotland, until his coming into Ireland.

The pressing importunities of the Scotch continuing, nevertheless; the private murmurs of the states, at his remaining so long in Holland; and the news that Cromwell was preparing to go to Ireland with a large fleet and army; rendered the king more anxious than ever to hasten his departure. He had, previously, "contracted with some Dutchmen of Rotterdam, to send two ships of 200 tons apiece, into Ireland laden with corn and cloaths for the soldiers, as well for the provision of

the fleet as for the publick benefit of that kingdom;" and the merchants engaged to take off some of his prize goods, in lieu of their commodities.

His majesty then requested a conference with the lords deputies of the States-general, which was courteously acceded to; and on the 29th[1] of March he was conducted to their council chamber, where, after some compliment, he presented a memorial. In this paper, after expressing his great sense of the many favours he had received from their lordships, he gave a summary of the distracted condition of his three kingdoms, and a sketch of his own forlorn condition; desiring their lordships to lay before the states his petition, that they would afford him advice and assistance, for the better transporting himself into Ireland, with honour and

[1] The editor of the State Papers considers that this date ought to have been May the 29th; founding his opinion on the assertion in the History of the Rebellion, that the memorial was not presented until after the murder of Dorislaus, on the 3d of that month. But from several letters in Carte's Collection; among others one from the king himself, it is clear that it was presented in March, and not in May; and that the rough draught of a document in the State Papers (vol ii. p. 482)* refers to another memorial, a sort of refresher, delivered possibly on the 9th of June.

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* A paper sent by his majesty to the states-general:

"His Majesty is compelled to desire their Lordships' answer to that particular, as soon as may bee; it being absolutely necessary for his Majesty to make all haste into his own Dominions; so that he may dispose himself upon all occasions to that part of his kingdoms, where his presence shall be thought most requisite, towards which, he desires your Lordships the states general to assist him with ships, and the loan of twenty thousand pounds sterling, towards the discharge of the debts contracted in this country by himself and his brother, and the supply of the charge of his wars; which sum, if their lordships shall upon this exigent furnish him with, his Majesty will give such security for it as their Lordships shall judge sufficient; and shall always remember and acknowledge the reasonableness of the obligation."

security. "As soon," he concludes, "as he shall be informed of their willingness to gratify him herein, his majesty will make such other particular propositions by your Lordships to them (the states-general) concerning Ireland, and his other important affairs, as he doubts not will be for the advantage and benefit of this state, as well as for his majesty's present conveniency."

In relation to this affair, his secretary Mr. Long writes to Ormond on the 11th of April thus:—"The King hath a treaty with the states, by which we hope to procure money from them. They have sent to consult with their provinces, which will take up some time; but is a sign of their good intention. If they require security for the money, it must be upon something in Ireland; as the customs, or some other thing that will be valuable with them here." The following day the king also writes to the marquis:—"I am pressing the States here all I can for assistance of money and ships to transport me. I hope speedily to have a very good answer, and then I shall lose no time in coming to you." [1]

Great results are anticipated by the cavaliers from his majesty's appeal. On the 20th of April we learn, that "the states have not yet declared themselves, they incline to continue neuters, yet we hope the loan of ships and money will be had. His majesty's motion is delayed only until the states have declared what supplies they will give him, which will be within a week or ten days. It is again proposed by these states-general to those of the several provinces; and there are some intimations already given which make the king hope for some success herein; and by that time, it is hoped

[1] Carte's Collection, vol. i. pp. 265—267.

some letters will come from Ireland. It's hoped the reputation of so rich prizes taken by Prince Rupert will give his majesty some credit here, if all others fail: whereof as soon as he shall receive certain advertisements from Prince Rupert, 'tis conceived it will hasten his majesty's journey for Ireland."[1]

The states, who had "a rich bank lying by them since the peace," might easily have assisted Charles, had they not been restrained, by the fear of embroiling themselves with the English parliament; and by the influence of the Scotch faction, which made them believe, that it was not yet decided whether the king was to go to Ireland or to Scotland. They nevertheless continued "their cheap civilities to his majesty," until another ingredient was added to the combustible materials at the Hague, by the murder of the parliamentary agent, Dr. Dorislaus.

Dorislaus, a Dutchman born, originally a schoolmaster, then doctor of civil law at Leyden, on coming over to England was appointed to read a course of history at Cambridge. Being dismissed, for decrying monarchy in his very first lecture, he became judge advocate in the king's army; then, held the same post in that of the rebels under Essex and Fairfax; and at length, as judge of the admiralty, assisted in drawing up and managing the charge against Charles I. These qualifications, added to his being a native of Holland, caused him to be selected and sent over by Cromwell, as the fittest envoy for negotiating an alliance, offensive and defensive, between the new and the old republic. The following extract affords a tolerably circumstantial account of the premature termination of his mission and his life:

[1] Carte's Collection, vol. i. pp. 277—279.

"Sir Walter Strickland to the Council of State.[1]

"Hague May 3 (O. S.) 1649.

"RIGHT HONRABLE

"I foresaw, but could not prevent, the barbarous murder of Doctor Dorislaus, which was done last night at the Hague, as he was at supper at his inn, by six bravoes, who brake in upon him, six more keeping the door, till they gave him several deadly wounds in the head and heart and other places, of which he instantly died.

"He had four servants, three of which are very much hurt. I signified how dangerous it was for him to come here in my last to your honours, and my fears were not panic. He came to the Hague on the lord's day (April 29th) at noon, but he sent not to me to let me know of it till night. A little before he sent to me, an old acquaintance of his, who heard of his being in town, came to me to tell me he was come, but withal to desire me that he would forbear (my) coming to him as he had done when he was here before; he apprehending that it was dangerous to speak with him, in respect of the threats given out against him, so violent the enemies be.

"As soon as I heard where he was, I went to him; entreated him to come to my house, telling him of the danger he was in, which I had from good hands. He told me, he would not be securer than in that inn, the people of the house being his old friends, and so trusty, as his own house could not be more secure, and would not believe me that the danger was so great.

[1] Cary's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 131.

"On Monday night, a rogue came to him, pretending he was sent from me, that I must needs speak with him, but he discovered him, and did not come, for divers other rogues were ready to have killed him had he come out. I wished him to come to me, but he would not. Last night, I was with him till eight at clock at night; about nine or ten he was murdered. It is reported, they said they were sorry I was gone; for hearing I was there, they did hope to have us both together, but I must be next.

"I was desirous the doctor would have delivered his credential letters, by which he had been declared a public minister; but he told me, an old lord, his friend, persuaded him to temporize two or three days,—and before that was expired he was murdered.——The Court of Holland hath proclaimed a certain sum to any who can bring in the murderers, and have omitted nothing that is usual to shew displeasure. Yet it is like the murderers are not far off. Some say they were Scots, who did it in revenge of Hamilton's death; but they were Scots and English both."[1]

This "accident," as it was called, proceeding from the over zeal and turbulence of the Cavaliers, who considered it a very meritorious action, was a great source of trouble and perplexity to Charles; and he plainly foresaw that this affair would be turned to his disadvantage; especially, from its occurring at a time, when there was much brawling and fighting between his followers and the gentlemen of the town, in which a son of one of the

[1] "This generous action," as Anthony Wood calls it, was perpetrated by one Colonel Walter Whitford, a Scotchman, but others of his country were present at it. "He is now safe in Brussels," says Secretary Nicholas.

burgomasters had been seriously, although not dangerously, wounded. The states, however much they may have been inclined to pass over a street or tavern broil, could not avoid taking public notice of the murder of an accredited minister, without compromising their own dignity, and rendering themselves liable to the expostulations of the council of state in England. But they instituted the inquiry so tardily, that the assassins were enabled to escape; and then pursued their investigations, with so much formality and delicacy towards the king, as to make it appear, that they had no suspicion of the guilty persons being, in any way, connected with his service.

They nevertheless intimated, that the presence of so many strangers rendered it impossible for them to preserve the peace of the town; and insinuated, that it would be expedient for the king to remove from the Hague. "Of all which his majesty receiving advertisement, he thought it better himself to give them notice of his purpose to leave them, than expect a plain injunction from them to do so." His plans were, however, seriously disconcerted, by being obliged to quit the United Provinces, before the ships and money, he so confidently reckoned on obtaining, could be collected; and it became the subject of debate in his council, whether he should at once embark from some Dutch port, before a parliament squadron should have notice of his movements; or whether he should create further delay, by taking St. Germain's on his way to Ireland.

Many of his council, apprehensive of his mother's regaining her former influence over him, to the detriment of their own, strenuously opposed his adopting the latter course; alleging, that it would involve more

waste of time and expenditure of money, than his affairs or his exchequer warranted; and pointing out to him, that he had neither received condolence nor invitation from the French Court, since his father's death. The queen's partisans, however, and the Scotch, strongly urged his taking Paris on his way; hoping that, through his mother's management, the scale might be turned in favour of Scotland, even in the eleventh hour; and believing that his presence in that kingdom would speedily settle affairs: "and that they should be quickly restored to their estates, which they cared most for."

Her majesty, by letters and messages, pressed the king earnestly to meet her at St. Germain's; whilst the Prince and Princess of Orange, anxious to gratify the queen-mother, proposed, that if he was disinclined to proceed as far as Paris, he should appoint some other place in France for a meeting; and after conferring there for a few days, that he should embark from some port, and steer his course for Ireland, by some shorter passage than from Holland. In furtherance of this plan, his highness promised to have a couple of ships in attendance upon his majesty, in any French harbour he might think fit to appoint; and, as a further inducement, he offered to supply the king with twenty thousand pounds, to discharge his debts at the Hague, and defray the expenses of the projected journey. For this purpose the prince sent Mr. Henflet, his chief financial officer, to negotiate a loan with the merchants at Amsterdam. But, although his highness's credit was excellent, and his security unexceptionable, it was some time before hard cash could be obtained; owing to the circumstance, that all considerable transactions were carried on by bills of exchange; so that, it was not until remittances of specie

from Rotterdam, Haarlem and Antwerp, were received at Amsterdam, that the bills could be discounted.

Charles, although delighted at the prospect of being at length furnished with money, and well enough inclined to adopt the plan proposed to him, withheld any positive decision for the present. He, nevertheless, directed that his inferior servants, and all, not in immediate attendance upon his person, should be embarked forthwith for Ireland: with their effects, his own heavy baggage, and that of the servants destined to accompany him; being resolved, if he went through France, to travel with as light a train, and as few incumbrances as possible. A couple of ships being shortly hired, the servants and goods were put on board, in addition to a number of officers, soldiers and idle hangers-on, who were consigned to the charge of the Marquis of Ormond, with a recommendation that he would put them into his army, or otherwise employ them. The ships set sail in due time and reached Ireland in safety; but on their return, most of the servants and all the goods, when it became known that the king was not to follow, proceeded no further; and many of the people afterwards came to Jersey.

In the meantime the queen-mother was highly incensed at her son for having nominated his own counsellors, and for having appointed ambassadors to the court of Spain without her concurrence; all of which she construed into a desire to prevent her interference in his affairs. Being, moreover, annoyed at his apparent reluctance to come to her, she despatched Lord Jermyn to the Hague to hasten his journey to Paris; and to inform him that it would be exceedingly inconvenient for her to remove from her place of residence,

in order to meet him in any other town, as had been proposed.

The Prince of Orange, and more particularly the Princess, was anxious to comply with her majesty's impatient desire to see her son; the latter, perhaps, somewhat in awe of her impetuous mother, added her solicitations to Jermyn's importunities, and succeeded in persuading Charles to set out sooner than he had intended, and indeed before he had made up his mind to go to St. Germain's, or before his arrangements were completed; not alone for the projected voyage to Ireland, but for the mere journey into France. In order to facilitate his departure, their highnesses suggested that "whilst his servants prepared what was necessary at the Hague, he himself, and that part of his train which was ready, should go to Breda, and stay there till the rest were ready to come up to him." By this sagacious arrangement, the king enjoyed the many festive delights of the handsome palace and castle of Breda; and Lord Jermyn was enabled to assure the impatient queen, that her son had actually quitted the Hague. It may be inferred that her majesty was satisfied with this announcement, from the following passage, written from Paris on the 9-19 of June, by Sir Edward Nicholas: "the king was to come from Holland the 1-11 of this month to Breda, and thence to Brussels; and though there be yet no certainty that he hath begun his journey, yet it's confidently believed that he held this day prefixed, as the Lord Jermyn and the Lord Percy went yesterday to meet him at Brussels. But the Queen tells me, it will be 15 days before his Majesty comes into these parts, and that he will come to St. Germain's and not hither." [1]

[1] Carte's Collection, vol. i. p. 294.

It was not, however, until the 5-15 of June, that the king departed from the Hague, "in company with his sister and her husband the Prince of Aurange, in their coach; and came early to Rotterdam, where the Burghers were in arms, and was nobly received, and saluted as he passed the gates with all the artillery, and ringing of the bells, and other signs of joy and honour, though the English company there durst not (as of themselves) give any particular proof thereof. From thence to Dort, where he was received in the same ample manner, and then to Breda."[1] Here the Spanish ambassador Le Brune waited on his majesty; delivered his master's compliments to him, and offered his own services as long as his majesty should remain in the provinces.

As soon as the attendants from the Hague rejoined the king, he proceeded to Antwerp, where, by the archduke's order, he was received with great magnificence; "having been presented with a most rich and splendid chariot, with eight horses suitable," when he came into the Spanish dominions in Flanders. He remained at Antwerp for two days, during which he was entertained at the charge of the city with all possible state; "and particularly welcomed by the Marquis of Newcastle, who had fixed his residence there with great contentment."

The next stage in his majesty's itinerary is Brussels. Here he was lodged in the palace, and waited upon most attentively by the officers of the archduke, in the absence of their master; who, hearing that the French were set down before Cambray, had been constrained, suddenly, to join his army at Mons and Valenciennes. Charles's "treatments were most royally ordered" (as he afterwards

[1] Heath, p. 436.

acknowledged) "for the most sumptuous magnificency, and pleasing variety he ever met with: and with the same grandeurs as if the King of Spain had received them himself." He remained at Brussels three or four days, uncertain which route to pursue, as that through Cambray was obstructed; the French, by granting their pioneers a premium of a crown each per toise, having within a couple of days completed their lines of circumvallation. The Conde Fuensaldagna, however, through the negligence of Erlac, the French general, succeeded in throwing in reinforcements, whereby the siege was raised, and the high road into France again rendered practicable; so that Charles made his journey the usual way. Near Valenciennes he had an interview with Archduke Leopold; and after an exchange of some brief ceremonies entered Cambray, where he was handsomely treated by the governor, "a very civil gentleman." The Duke of Lorraine, on his majesty's entering his territories, gave him the like entertainment, and escorted him in person to Peronne; which town he entered about the first week in July.[1] The governor of the place, who had been some time expecting his majesty, received him with due honour; and immediately sent a courier, to announce his arrival, to the French court at Compiègne.[2]

During the absence of the courier; and whilst Charles is quietly reposing at Peronne, after the fatigues of his journey, let us employ ourselves in collecting details, relative to the doings of the "small statists at St. Germain's"; and more particularly, as to the progress of

[1] Heath, Clarendon, Motteville, &c.

[2] An account of the expenses incurred in the journey from Brussels to Paris, audited and endorsed by Hyde, exists among the Clarendon MSS.

his mother's matrimonial speculations in his behalf. Of all the hymeneal perils to which he was exposed anterior to the Restoration, none was greater apparently than his projected match with the heiress of the house of Orleans; who does not hesitate to tell us all about it, as far as she is concerned in the matter.

During the height of the Fronde, it must be remembered that Henrietta Maria restored the Château of St. Germain's to the French court, exchanging it for the Louvre; where she was shamefully neglected by Mazarin, and endured such privations, as to be driven to solicit pecuniary aid from the leaders of the popular party. De Retz, as we have seen, more liberal and humane than his rival the Cardinal, finding that she was actually in want of the necessaries of life, allowed twenty thousand francs to enable her to subsist.

About the beginning of April, a truce having been concluded between the Frondeurs and the French court, Mademoiselle de Montpensier tells us that she obtained leave from Anne of Austria and the Duke of Orleans, to re-enter Paris, "under the pretext of paying a visit of condolence to the Queen of England on the death of her husband, whose head had been chopped off two months before."

"On arriving at the Louvre," continues the cool young lady, "I did not find my aunt so sensibly affected at the recent loss of an indulgent, and sincerely attached consort, as I expected; taking into account, more especially, the cruel nature of his death, which in my estimation, ought to have been a vast aggravation to her affliction. No doubt it was the strength of mind she naturally possesses, which through Divine assistance, supported her under these trying circumstances: we cannot form a

judgment, from external appearances, of the depth of woe that may have resided beneath the surface.

"With the queen I found her second son, the Duke of York, a charming young Prince, between thirteen and fourteen years of age;—very handsome, very well made, and of fair complexion. He spoke French with admirable fluency; which in my eyes, gave him an immense advantage over the king, his brother; the remarks he made were much to the point, and I enjoyed his conversation exceedingly. There is nothing, in my opinion, so unbecoming to a young man as inability to express his thoughts and feelings. During the three days that I remained in Paris my apartments were crowded with visitors of all parties; but as my principal object in going thither, was to comfort the queen of England, I devoted most of my time to her,—visiting her daily, and frequenting the promenades, escorted by the Duke of York; in whose society I enjoyed much pleasure.

"On my return to St. Germain's, the queen regent, my father and others, pestered me with questions, as to what I had seen and heard, and done during the interval; to all of which I replied as candidly and circumstantially as possible. Finding in a few days, that the court intended to remove to Compeigne, I requested permission, before they went thither, to be allowed to revisit Paris, as I was dying with desire to have some conversation with Madame de Chevreuse and her daughter who had recently returned from Flanders. All intercourse between us, it is true, had been interdicted by the queen, but this only added to my anxiety to see my friends. I therefore sent a private messenger to Madame de Chevreuse, imploring her, with my compliments, to meet me at Montmartre, which she readily agreed to. But being prevented, owing

to indisposition, from fulfilling the engagement, her daughter, with whom I was likewise exceedingly intimate, came in her stead. We enjoyed the stolen interview immensely; she spoke raptures of the pleasures of the Flemish court, was warm in her praises of the Archduke, and assured me, that his nobles were exceedingly anxious to promote a matrimonial alliance between him and me. I listened to her discourse with the most intense satisfaction, and as at this juncture there was every probability of Leopold's obtaining the sovereignty of the Low Countries, nothing pleased me better than the prospect of becoming his consort."

Indulging in pleasing visions of a throne matrimonial, the princess takes leave of her friend, and proceeds to re-visit the Queen of England. Just as she is about to enter the Louvre, she sees some of the Queen of France's people on the point of setting out for St. Germain's. Fearful of their telling tales about her, she, with an apparent show of candour, requests them to inform their royal mistress, that she has had an interview with Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, at Montmartre, whom she did not consider herself called upon to shun; had it been the young lady's mother, indeed, the case would have been different. She afterwards meets her father, to whom she repeats the same story; and unblushingly records this instance of her aptitude at prevarication.

The Duke de Beaufort, then in high repute for gallantry, offers to entertain her in the evening with music. She willingly accepts the proposal, invites Madame de Nemours, the Princess Louise, and other ladies, to sup with her; and after the repast they walk on the terrace of the Tuileries; while the violins play, and the men promenade the gardens. These serenades

would assuredly have been repeated, and balls even, might have followed, had she remained in delightful Paris; but the tiresome queen-regent recalls her, and she is forced to take her departure the very next day.

"I reached St. Germain's," resumes Mademoiselle, "just in time to accompany the court to Compeigne, where we had no sooner arrived, than the Duke my father sent his confessor to inform me, that lord Jermyn had been sent from Paris by the Queen of England, to solicit my father's consent, to my union with her son. The Abbé merely mentioned the circumstance to me; and, without giving any positive advice, pointed out the advantages, as well as the disadvantages, likely to arise from the proposed match. He recommended me, nevertheless, to give the subject due consideration, as it was the Duke's intention shortly to speak to me, and ascertain my sentiments; which he accordingly did, requesting me to give him an explicit answer. I confess, that to me the expediency of such a match appeared questionable; but I deferred to the Duke's judgment, telling him that I would obey him, and conform to any decision he might think fit to arrive at.

"In a few days my lord Byron arrived at our court, to kiss hands, and solicit, that his Majesty of England might be permitted to enter the French territory. This gentleman and Lord Jermyn paid me many flattering compliments, and were very assiduous in paying court to me. The queen-regent, as well as the cardinal, informed me that the proposal received their entire approbation; and the latter told me that the French government was powerfully supporting the king, who had many faithful adherents in his own dominions, and was furthermore master of the whole kingdom of Ireland.

Her majesty, on the other hand assured me, that she entertained the most maternal affection for me; that she was, above all things, anxious to promote my happiness; and would never have consented to the match, had it not been highly to my advantage. 'You are very intimate,' she said, 'with the Queen of England, who is the best creature in the universe; she doats upon you; her son is deeply enamoured of you, and desires nothing more ardently than to marry you.' To this I replied, 'His majesty does me infinite honour; and, although there is not, at present, any great prospect of France's affording him any effectual assistance, I am willing to obey your majesty's commands; and ready to act in accordance with my father's wishes.' After this conversation the queen frequently rallied me on this love affair, even before Lord Jermyn; and my friends teased me on the subject till they made me blush.

"In a short time De la Rivière importuned me also, telling me that Lord Jermyn, being on the point of setting out for Holland, to invite King Charles into France, was desirous of obtaining a definitive reply from me, before his departure. 'If you will consent,' continued the abbé, 'the young king will come to our court, in a few days the marriage will be celebrated; and you will remain here a short time after a ceremony, which entitles you to take precedence of the Queen of France; you will then visit your consort's mother, who has returned to St. Germain's; and then your new spouse will proceed to Ireland, where the interests of his kingdoms require his presence; whilst you continue to reside in Paris, or wherever it may be most agreeable to you.'

"To the last of these proposals I unequivocally

refused consent; telling the abbé that, if I could not accompany the man I married, I would either reside entirely with his mother, or seclude myself in some of my own estates; as I did not consider it at all decorous for a wife to enter into general society, or indulge in the gaieties of a capital, whilst her husband was exposing his life in the field of battle. Neither would it, I told him, be congenial to my feelings to keep up an establishment befitting my elevated station, whilst I deemed it my duty to economise most rigidly in order to supply the king with the money necessary for carrying on the war he was engaged in. And I added, I know myself so well, that I am convinced if once married, I should dispose of the whole of my property, and sacrifice all the proceeds to enable him to recover his crown. The bare contemplation of such a sacrifice, it must be confessed, brought up as I had been in the utmost luxury and profusion, made me shudder."

The cunning old abbé, complimenting the princess, who had worked herself up into a paroxysm of magnanimity, urged her to consider that there was no other eligible match open to her in Europe. "'The emperor,' he said, 'is newly married, so is the King of Spain; the King of Hungary is affianced to the Infanta; Archduke Leopold will never be king of the Low Countries; the King of France, and the young Monsieur his brother, are too young to marry; the Prince de Condé has a wife already; and as to petty German or Italian princes, they are beneath your notice.' I laughed immoderately at this *catalogue raisonné* of impossible alliances, and exclaimed, 'What if the Empress of Germany, who is far advanced in pregnancy, should chance to die in child-birth?' But in spite of my incli-

nation to jest, the affair too deeply concerned my future prospects to be dealt with lightly; so that, after some further discussion, and much reluctance on my part, I told the abbé, 'Well, then, if my father really wishes me to marry the King of England, and thinks the alliance inevitable, you may tell him that I would rather marry this prince whilst he is in distress; dispose of the whole of my possessions, to enable him to regain his kingdoms; and thus establish a strong claim upon his gratitude, which he will admit when he feels that his restoration is solely due to the sacrifices I have made for him.'"

The whole of this affair has at length become sufficiently transparent, to enable us to analyse the motives which gave rise to the widely-rumoured project of an alliance between Charles and La Grande Mademoiselle. Notwithstanding the formality of the proposal on the part of her father, whose interests, although inseparable from those of the French court, were at variance with her inclinations; notwithstanding her magniloquent display of filial obedience;—it is plain that neither of the contracting parties were in earnest, and that neither of them had the slightest intention of ratifying the matrimonial treaty. The court, averse to her marrying at all, for reasons formerly explained, were, in the first instance, apprehensive of her espousing the Emperor of Germany; in the second, of her throwing herself into the arms of the Archduke; and lastly, suspecting, that in default of a foreigner, she might seek to ensnare her young cousin, Louis the Fourteenth,—deemed it most excellent policy, to favour Henrietta Maria's design on the rich heiress: hoping thereby to keep her in good humour, but conscious all the while that at any

moment, however critical, the match might, without difficulty, be broken off.

But, when they were informed by their envoy, De la Rivière, that she announced her intention of despoiling herself of her extensive, and much-coveted domains, if forced to marry the King of England, they became seriously alarmed; well aware that she was capable of carrying any scheme she had conceived into execution, however wild and romantic it might be. The Queen-regent and Monsieur, therefore, ceased to importune her; and when Lord Jermyn, on his return from Holland, urged her to declare her sentiments, and made vehement protestations in behalf of his master, she gleaned from his discourse that, in order to avoid giving offence to the Queen of England, her relatives had told him, that she was not to be controlled by them; and only to be won by being wooed.

"Indignant at Jermyn's interference, it being unusual," she informs us, "for third parties to intervene when girls are about to marry, I determined to settle the matter at once with the Queen of England. Premising my discourse by assuring her majesty, that I loved as much as I honoured her, (which was strictly true); I besought her to assist me with her countenance and advice, as she was the only person who could extricate me from the difficulty in which I was placed, with regard to the king her son. I then explained to her that difference of religion was the grand obstacle to my receiving his addresses; and that unless it were surmounted, by his conforming to the creed which I must ever adhere to—which he might very well do, in consideration of the sacrifices I was prepared to make for his sake—our union was out of the question. Her Majesty

replied, that at the present juncture, and under existing circumstances, it was inexpedient for the king to embrace the Roman catholic faith; stating, among other reasons, that his doing so would exclude him for ever from his throne. After some further discussion on this point, her majesty took her leave, insinuating that the impediment was not altogether so insurmountable as I imagined, and that in a short time it might be removed."

Protected by the ecclesiastical rampart she had raised, the sagacious princess calmly awaited the assault; and was only apprised of the vicinity of the enemy by the arrival of the estafette from Peronne. The queen-regent, hearing that Charles was at Peronne, instantly despatched the Duke de Vendôme, with a suitable train of royal equipages, to convey his majesty to Compiègne; and to offer him the château of St. Germain's as a residence, so long as it suited his convenience to abide in France. Both offers were readily accepted, especially the latter; for, says Madame de Motteville, the bustle and turmoil of Paris would have been intolerable to a prince so overwhelmed with sorrow and misfortune. Although, in consequence of the good understanding which existed between Mazarin and Cromwell, no special invitation had been given to Charles by the French government, the court tacitly acknowledged his title to the crown of England; and, through Lord Byron, had sent him permission to enter the French territory.[1]

The Duke de Vendôme and the royal guest being

[1] The ensuing account in the text of the incidents occurring during Charles's residence in France at this period, is compiled almost entirely from the Memoirs of De Montpensier, De Motteville, Carte's Letters, and the History of the Rebellion—an admission which, it is to be hoped, will be allowed as a sufficient excuse for the occasional omission of inverted commas and references.

expected the next day at Compiègne, the whole court was early in the morning on the alert; it having been arranged, that the King and Queen of France should meet their relative on his way from Peronne. "On this occasion," says Mademoiselle, with her usual frank egotism, "my hair was *frisée*, contrary to my usual custom; and I was no sooner seated in the Queen's coach than she exclaimed, 'Only see how she is decked out! It is not difficult to recognise those who are expecting their gallants!'" "I was on the point of rejoining," continues the princess, "that her majesty's own experience in such matters rendered her keen-sighted; and I might have added, that I, at least, had good reason to adorn my person, since my adorer did not come in the shape of a mere gallant, but in that, possibly, of a future husband. I nevertheless checked the repartee that was on my lips, and contented myself with the reply, that I was dying to hear him give utterance to some pretty speeches; for none ventured to pay compliments to me, although there were certain queens of my acquaintance, to whose ears the language of the tender passion, was not altogether unfamiliar."

"After proceeding for about a league further on the road, we saw carriages advancing in the opposite direction, and when they met we all alighted. The King of England immediately came forward, and kissed his aunt's hand and his cousin's, who both greeted him with all marks of regard and affection, due to so near and so illustrious a relative. He then saluted me, and I could not help observing, that he had very much improved in person since his former visit to France. I verily believe, that if his wit and intelligence had been equal to his personal grace, I might at that time have

been captivated with him. But, all the way back to Compiègne, he talked of nothing but dogs and horses, with the king; speaking in French of the field sports he had been amusing himself with in Holland; but, when the queen attempted to engage him in conversation on other subjects, he was dumb; and when she pressed him for an opinion relative to public affairs, with which he ought to have been conversant, he excused himself from answering, on the plea, that he could not express himself fluently in our language."

The captious princess formed a most unfavourable opinion of a person who could not, or would not, converse on his own affairs in French; and making no sort of allowance for his diffidence, never conceiving it possible that a king, arrived at the age of manhood, should be incapable of speaking French, she, from that moment, vowed that he should never marry her. Although she coquetted with him, whenever an opportunity offered, still she kept her vow,—and was afterwards rendered miserable by a worthless courtier, who *could* speak French.

At Compiègne the company sat down to a repast, royal in every sense of the word; not so much, in reference to the magnificence of the plate, or the exquisite delicacy of the viands, as to the quality and exalted rank of the guests: Anne of Austria, Louis Quatorze, Charles of England, the Duke of Orleans, the Duchess de Montpensier, the rest of the Princesses—all were of blood royal.

Nevertheless, such excess of unadulterated blood could not prevent the occurrence of preliminary discord: in other words, and under other circumstances, a squabble, and by no means unamusing. The Princess de

Carignan, *Bourbon toute pure*, a branch of the house of Soissons, insisted on her right to sit at the festive board. The Duke of Orleans resisted her claim, unless his wife's cousin, Madame de Lorraine, was likewise included among the guests. Mademoiselle, with exquisite breeding, offered to resign her place, but the queen objected; whereupon Madame de Carignan, in a grievous huff, set off on foot for Paris: walking the livelong night, and protesting, as she trudged, that nothing on earth should ever induce her to forgive her majesty, or ever again enter her presence. In a short time, however, the queen, with a little coaxing, succeeded in appeasing the indignant lady,—by no means celebrated for keeping resolutions, much better founded than in the present instance.

But, let us not forget the banquet, at which Charles Stuart sank still lower, ill-fated youth, in the estimation of Mademoiselle, from his non-appreciation of some delicate ortolans which she presented to him. Equally indifferent to the charms of the accomplished lady, as to the flavour of the birds, the ungracious youth devoted himself, with excellent appetite, but execrable taste, to a substantial shoulder of mutton, and a huge round of beef; on which he made a hearty meal, totally regardless of the disdainful glances of his fair neighbour.[1]

After the repast the queen and the rest of the guests sat apart, leaving Charles and the heiress *tête-a-tête*, as if they had been affianced lovers; but not a syllable of soft nonsense did he whisper in her ear, not one single sentence of any kind did he give utterance to, for full a

[1] How much more would La Grande Mademoiselle's disdain have been increased had she beheld His Majesty Charles the Second on ship-board, at the Restoration, breakfasting on pork, peas, and salt junk, with a relish which indicated the vulgarity of his tastes and the keenness of his appetite!

quarter of an hour. This solemn silence the lady would willingly have attributed to bashfulness; to the respect with which she had inspired him; to anything, in short, rather than passionless indifference. "I should much have preferred," she candidly confesses, "to have been treated with a good deal less deference; but at length, weary of my unsociable companion, I summoned Madame de Comminges to see if she could manage to make him speak,—the experiment, happily, succeeded. The Abbé de la Rivière[1] then joined our party, and told me that, at table, the King of England had gazed upon me earnestly. 'What signifies his staring,' I replied, 'if he says nothing?' 'Nay, nay,' rejoined the Abbé, 'you are only seeking to make a mystery of the tender speeches he has been uttering for the last half-hour.' 'Tender speeches, forsooth!' I exclaimed; 'you may readily satisfy yourself as to the amount of tender speeches, if you will only listen.' The queen having risen, we joined the circle, and I again attempted to engage the English king in unrestrained conversation, by making inquiries concerning some of his people, whom I had known formerly; but, as I anticipated, his replies were brief, and expressed without the slightest approach to gallantry."

The inquisitive ecclesiastic, who stood by during

[1] This same abbé, afterwards Bishop of Langres, on his death-bed, bequeathed a hundred crowns for the composition of an epitaph. Many were written, but none more *piquant* than the following:—

"Cy git un très grand personage,
Qui fut d'un illustre lignage,
Qui posséda mille vertus,
Qui ne trompa jamais, qui fut toujours fort sage,
Je n'en dirai pas d'avantage
C'est trop mentir pour cent Ecus."

the interview, anxious to ascertain the true sentiments of the young pair, in order to convey any information he might glean to the cardinal, must have been convinced that there was no love lost on either side: and had not the vanity and self-esteem of La Grande Mademoiselle been so inordinate, she must have perceived, that Charles's taciturnity arose purely from indifference. As it was, how could she conceive absence of emotion possible, in the breast of any man she deigned to honour with her conversation?

It having been previously arranged, that Charles was merely to refresh himself at Compiègne, he now prepared to resume his journey, aware that his royal mother was impatiently expecting his arrival at St. Germain's. The French court, deeming it incumbent on them to escort him part of the way, took to their coaches, and lumbered on till they reached a prescribed spot in the forest. Here the formality of alighting was repeated; and, after Charles had taken leave of his royal entertainers, with all proper regard to etiquette, he advanced towards Mademoiselle, accompanied by Jermyn, accosting her highness thus: "As my Lord Jermyn expresses himself with more fluency in your highness's language than I can, I leave it to his lordship to convey the sentiments I entertain towards you, whilst I remain your very humble servant." "Lord Jermyn hereupon paid me many compliments," continues the princess; "and his master, after saluting me ceremoniously, entered his carriage, and took his departure."

It is uncertain how much time was expended, in performing a journey of about twenty leagues, in the cumbrous French equipages of the seventeenth century. At all events, it may be assumed that his majesty arrived

in due course at St. Germain's, where he found the queen anxiously awaiting him. But the long-deferred interview, between the mother and the son, was not productive of so much satisfaction to the former as she had anticipated. "After the first two or three days that the king and queen had been together, which were spent in tears and lamentations for the great alteration that had happened since their last parting, the queen begun to confer with the king of his business, and what course he meant to take; in which she found him so reserved, as if he had no mind she should be conversant with it. He made no apologies to her, which she expected, nor any professions of resigning himself up to her advice. On the contrary, upon some expostulations, he had told her plainly, 'that he would always perform his duty to her with great affection and exactness, but that in his business he would obey his own reason and judgement;' and did as good as desire her not to trouble herself in his affairs: and finding her passions strong, he frequently retired from her with some abruptness, and seemed not to desire to be so much in her company as she expected; and prescribed some rules to be observed in his own retirement, which he had not been accustomed to."[1]

Sir Edward Nicholas, who had come from Caen to wait upon the king, writes thus from Paris, to the Marquis of Ormond, on the 7th of August:—"The king says, he will not, in France, make any officer or councellor; which hath sent the Earl of Bristol and Lord Digby hence much unsatisfied: but the lord Hattop and myself made it our suit to his majesty not to be sworn councellors, unless he would declare in what

[1] History of the Rebellion.

places we should serve him, until his majesty shall judge us fit for it. If I am not much deceived, the queen will not have so ruling a power in the king's affairs as was expected by some and imagined by all. I assure your Excellency, his majesty hath a very good insight already into businesses, and, when he is settled in a good resolution, is not easily to be altered. He is a great observer of those that are real in his employments, and though he use graciously all men, yet he makes good distinction between such as have approved themselves perfectly hearty to his just cause, and those who have been half-hearted, or neuters. —— The King will have little or no money to bring with him to Ireland, as those that best know assure me."

The queen was so much incensed at her son's independent tone, especially at his refusing to admit the persons she recommended to his council, and his declaration that he would nominate no more councillors until he arrived in Ireland,—that she threatened to retire into the Carmelites, and have nothing more to do with his affairs. Forgetting all her old enmity to Hyde, she flew to him, when he came to Paris before setting out for Spain, and "complained, not without tears, of the king's unkindness towards her, and of his way of living with her; of some expressions he had used in discourse in her own presence, and of what he had said in other places."

This disrespectful and unfilial conduct her majesty attributed to the disservice of a certain person about him, and not without just cause; for Tom Elliot, formerly one of the grooms of the bedchamber, removed from his person by the late king, because he thought he had too much credit with his son and used

it ill, had returned to him a short time before he quitted Holland. This pernicious companion was received by the young king with open arms; "and, being one who would receive no injury from his modesty, made the favour the king shewed him as bright, and to shine as much in the eyes of all men, as was possible. He was never from the person of the King, and always whispering in his ear;" pretending to be conversant with the opinion of all the loyal party in England. "And when he had a mind that the king should think well or ill of any man, he told him, 'that he was much beloved by, or very odious to, all his party in England.' By these infusions, he had prevailed with him to look with less grace upon the earl of Bristol, and more to discountenance the lord Digby:" telling him that to appoint them to office would be the most unpopular thing he could do; and, that to appear to be governed by his mother, would lose him the confidence of many hearts in England. Tom Elliot had little reverence for the memory of the late king; and less respect for the queen, whom he treated with wonderful neglect, even when he spoke to her; and at length gained so much ascendancy over the king, that he not only conceived the incredible design of making his wife's father, colonel Wyndham, secretary of state, but obtained his majesty's promise for the appointment, to the exclusion of Lord Digby, Secretary Nicholas, and other practised statesmen.

It so happened that colonel Wyndham, whose only claim rested on his being husband to the king's nurse; and whose only qualification was being father-in-law to Tom Elliot; would, in virtue of this royal promise, assuredly have obtained the secretaryship, for which so many were contending, had it not been for a happy and

humorous conceit engendered by jovial old Lord Cottington. The following anecdote, which illustrates a phase in the character of Charles the Second—namely, that of being more open to a jest than to the soundest argument—will come, with greater unction, from the pen of the great historian, than from ours.

"One day the lord Cottington, when the chancellor and some others were present, told the King very gravely, (according to his custom, who never smiled when he made others merry) 'that he had a humble suit to him, on behalf of an old servant of his father's, and whom, he assured him upon his knowledge, his father loved as well as he did any man of that condition in England; and that he had been for many years one of his falconers; and he did really believe him to be one of the best falconers in England;' and thereupon enlarged himself, (as he could do excellently in all the terms of that science) to shew how very skilful he was in his art. The King asked him 'What he would have him do for him?' Cottington told him 'it was very true that his majesty kept no falconers, and the poor man was grown old, and could not ride as he had used to do; but that he was a very honest man, and could read very well, and had as audible a voice as any man need to have,' and therefore besought his majesty 'that he would make him his chaplain,'—which speaking with so composed a countenance, and somewhat of earnestness, the King looked upon him with a smile to know what he meant; when he, with the same gravity, assured him 'the falconer was in all respects as fit to be his chaplain, as Colonel Wyndham was to be secretary of state,' which so surprised the king, who had never spoken to him of the matter, all that were present being not able to abstain from laughing,

that his Majesty was somewhat out of countenance: and this being told merrily by some of the standers by, it grew to be a story in all companies, and did really divert the king from the purpose, and made the other so ashamed of pretending to it, that there was no more discourse of it."

It had been the king's original intention, on his coming into France, to have remained there no longer than a week or ten days; to have embarked at Rochelle or some other port; and then, steering a course round the Scotch islands, to have landed in some harbour on the north-west coast of Ireland. But the ships, promised by the Prince of Orange, were not ready, even towards the end of August, so that he was obliged to give up all idea of attempting the northern passage. "The season being now past for that course," says Jermyn,[1] "the mists and great winds, and long nights, being too near, he must resolve upon the southern passage: and as in regard to the safety of his getting to you, he must in the first resolution have taken care to have missed the winter; so in this the winter or the beginning of it seems to be his greatest security; for the Parliament ships must retire, and besides, the long nights and stiff winds are to be as much desired this way, as they were to be feared the other. He expects news that his ships will be ready in Holland within these ten days, to be sent to any port he shall resolve to embark at. From that time they may be suddenly after, where they shall be appointed to come; but that is not yet fixed on: but 'tis like to be either port Louis, or Brest or Rochelle, or Bayone; perhaps some other; but if any other, it will

[1] Jermyn to the Marquis of Ormonde, August 10th. Carte's Coll.

occasion but little difference in the matter. Where the king will also wear out the time that he ought now to stay, before that in which it will be fittest for him to embark, is also a point unresolved: but is not neither of any consequence for you to be informed of. Let it suffice that you know that he will have ships ready, likely at one of the ports I have mentioned, and that about a month, 5 or 6 weeks hence, he will embark himself to come to you: and this is the positive conclusion which I can foresee nothing likely to alter in any circumstance of moment."

The queen, although far from opposing her son's going to Ireland, contributed by her petulance to a delay, which was ascribed to want of money; but, in a great measure, depended on Lord Jermyn, who entertained the scheme of detaching the Presbyterians from the Independents. He therefore sought to postpone the king's departure, (especially when news came of the discomfiture of Ormond) until some arrangements could be made with the Scotch and English Puritans; or until his majesty could obtain promises, at least, of assistance from Spain, Sweden, or some other foreign power.

The complicated state of affairs at St. Germain's may be gathered from the following extracts, written from thence on the 4th of September:—

"There is here at this instant, whether the Lord Jermyn and his faction, or Tho. Elliot and Sir Edward Herbert (who are of P. Rupert's party) shall have chief interest in the management of the king's affairs. The first, by the advantages of this place, have yet the better of it: but it is believed when the king goes hence (especially if he go not for Jersey) that the

other party will get the helm into their hands. In the meantime nothing is settled or acted by sad and serious council, but by catches, and on occasion, to the heart-breaking of all knowing men that are faithful to the king. * * * Both I and many others are much discouraged with the proceedings at St. Germains, where our king hath declared for the Presbyterian party and signed the Scotch articles: the State of France hath ever run with that faction, and our Queen with the State of France. In my judgement, if his majesty shall totally rely on the Presbyterian party, excluding his friends of that kingdom, he will never recover his crown here."[1]

In a few days letters from Ormond, confirming the intelligence contained in the "Diurnals," of his defeat at Rathmines, and the landing of Cromwell with fresh forces,[2] suspended the king's immediate departure; and induced him to wait until the results of the siege of Dublin should be ascertained, or until a safe passage to Ireland could be secured. It was by no means advisable "that his majesty should venture to sea whilst the parliament fleet commanded the ocean, and were then about the coast of Ireland; but that he should expect the autumn when the season of the year would call home or disperse their ships," which were then blockading Prince Rupert closely in the harbour of Kinsale.

[1] Secretary Nicholas to the Marquises of Ormond and Clanricarde.—Carte, vol. ii. pp. 306, 307.

[2] "Cromwell's design," writes Sir Edward Nicholas to the Marquis of Clanricarde, "is to engage the Marquess of Ormonde in a fight, and that as suddenly as he can;—Scipio the African wisely subdued his potent enemy, and preserved his country, by waving and evading all engagements."—Carte, vol. i. p. 308.

It now became a question of much importance, whither the king was to go, and where reside with the greatest safety and conveniency, until the time came for his being summoned to Ireland. It was evident, that his absence was impatiently desired by the French court, from whom he had not received the slightest civility, since they had so ceremoniously entertained him at Compiègne; and the queen his mother, "who found herself disappointed of that dominion which she had expected, resolved to merit from the Cardinal by freeing him from that guest that was most unwelcome to them, though he had not been in any degree chargeable to them; and so was not at all solicitous for his longer stay. So his majesty considered how he should make his departure; and, upon looking round he resolved that he would make his journey through Normandy, and embark himself for his island of Jersey; which still continued under his obedience, and under the government of Sir George Carteret; who had in truth the power over the place, though he was but the lieutenant of the lord Jermyn."

Sir George, who from the commencement of the year had received frequent intimations of its being his majesty's intention to make Jersey a stepping-stone to Ireland, neglected no precaution to render the island tenable against parliamentary invasion. The king, ever anxious to support him in his loyal exertions, sanctioned the building of a pier at St. Aubin's,[1] empowering him to

[1] Pepys says that Mr. Coventry told him "how the Duke of York did give Sir G. Carteret and the Island his profit as Admirall, and other things, towards the building a pier there; but it was never laid out nor like to be. So, it falling out that a lady had been brought to bed, the Duke was to be desired to be one of the godfathers; and it being objected that that would not be proper, there being no peer of the land

levy a duty on wine for this purpose; and recommended the inhabitants to raise a loan, so as to enable him to supply his magazines, and further strengthen the place, "in such a manner as the rebels might have no encouragement to attempt it." He at the same time promised them repayment "on the word of a king;" and informed them, that he "might for his conveniency choose to stay some time in a place where he had resided with singular contentment."[1]

On his majesty's leaving Holland for France, he commanded Sir George to wait upon him at St. Germain's; and the governor assembling the States on the 1st of July, (N. S.), imparted to them the order he had received: whereupon they appointed his brother-in-law, young Sir Philip de Carteret, acting Lieutenant-governor and Bailiff during his absence. The following day Sir George embarked on board of Captain Amy's frigate, and set sail from Mont Orgueil accompanied by Mr. Nicolle his secretary, Francis Carteret, Edward Carteret, Edward Hamptonne, son of the vicomte; Major Collins, and some other gentlemen; with William Bourg, his groom of the chambers, and a couple of running footmen (*pionniers*). He also took with him five horses, for mounting the gentlemen of his suite, intending to purchase others in France for the servants. Soon after dawn the following morning, the governor and his train landed at Cotainville, and as soon as possible pursued their journey to Paris, where, on the 2d of August, we

to be joyned with him, the lady replied, 'Why, let him choose; and if he will not be a godfather without a peer, then let him even stay till he hath made a pier of his own.'"—Vol. ii. p. 176.

[1] A remarkably faithful translation of these documents is given by Chevalier; but, as copies of the originals are among the Clarendon Papers, we prefer inserting the English version in the Appendix.

find that "Sir G. Carteret governor of Jersey," and several other personages, came to welcome John Evelyn at dinner. We further learn, from the Clarendon manuscripts, that on the 6th of September his majesty was pleased to order that the Lord Keeper, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Long, should call, for their assistance and information, Sir George Carteret and the dean of the chapel, in order to certify their opinions to his majesty, on a petition concerning certain ecclesiastical affairs in Jersey.[1]

1 "St. Germain the 6th of September 1649

"May it please your Majesty

"According to your Majesty's direction we have in the presence of Sir George Carterett, and Mr. Deane of the Chappell heard Mr. Danyel Brevint,* and Mr. Joshua Carterett upon the matter of their petition, and doe finde the case to be this, That the said Mr. Brevint being present at our court in Jersey when Mr. Joshua Carterett, upon occasion of some difference depending there, fell into some passionate expressions of uncharitablenesse, and revenge against a person there present, which falling out to be three days before a communion was to be administered by the said Mr. Brevint, in the Church of which Mr. Joshua Carterett was a parishioner; he, the said Mr. Brevint did write a letter of caution and admonition, (which, he conceaved himselfe by the Rubrique of the Booke of Common Prayer warranted and authorised to doe) to the said Mr. Carterett, that those thoughts and resolutions of revenge which he had the day before expressed in the Court were unfitt preparations for the exercise of the next Sunday, and advised him to reconcile himselfe to the person whom he had threatened,

* Daniel Brevint, a native of Jersey, was educated, and took his degree of M.A., at Saumur, in France; he was constituted the first fellow of the Jersey fellowships founded at Oxford by Charles the First, from which he was ejected by the Puritans, and went to Jersey; the island being taken by the Parliamentarians, he refused to take the Covenant, and was forced to fly into Normandy, where he became chaplain to Marshal Turenne, and was treated with much respect by the Marechale until his return to England at the Restoration. In 1660 he was installed Prebendary of Durham, and, in 1681, made Dean of Lincoln.

In three or four days, all things being prepared for his majesty's taking final leave of St. Germain's, Sir George Carteret was despatched as an *avant courier* to Jersey. Passing through Douay he came to St. Maloes, where he found two ships of war, sent thither by the Prince of Orange, awaiting the king's orders. But, his majesty having decided upon coming by a shorter, and more secure passage, Sir George, according to his instructions, embarked on board the larger of the Dutch frigates, which carried twenty-seven guns; and, attended by the smaller, mounting twenty-one, he reached Jersey on

before he presented himself to the communion; which letter the said Mr. Carterett soe farr misinterpreted that he prosecuted the said Mr. Brevint with severall slanders and reproaches, and exhibited a complaint to the justices of the said Island, against the said Mr. Brevint for writing the said letter to him, as if he had thereby, by his owne single authority suspended him the communion; and accused the said Mr. Brevint of sedition and disaffection to your Majesty, and severall other crimes, and misdemeanours. Which manner of proceeding Mr. Brevint complaynes off, together with the scandalls and imputations raysed against him, as a great discouragement, and disheartening of him, and the other ministers in the exercise of their function.

"We examined Mr. Carterett what grounds he had for these charges against Mr. Brevint of sedicion and dissaffection to your Majesty, and whether he can make any proofe of the same. But we finde that the same, in truth, proceeded from anger and passion, and that he cannot make good any part of the charges to the prejudice of the said Brevint. Upon the whole matter we are very well satisfied, both by the testimony we have received from Sir George Carterett, and by other good evidence, of the unquestionable integrity, sufficiency and ability of the said Mr. Brevint, and of his very emminent affection to your Majesty's service; of which he hath given severall good testimoneyes, and for which he hath heretofore suffred much, by a long and grievous imprisonment in England: of which his health is impayred to this day. And we are likewise satisfyed that the said Mr. Carterett, his proceedinge upon the said letter, was very irregular and indirecte, and his carriage towards Mr. Brevint scandelous and oppressive; and that he deserved reprehension for the same, and wee doe humbly conceave the said Mr. Brevint to be very worthy of your Majesty's protection, countenance and encouragement."

Saturday the 13th of September, and was welcomed on landing by a salute of ordnance and small arms from Elizabeth Castle.

Presiding at a meeting of the States, on the following Monday, he announced to them officially, that his majesty might be daily expected to re-visit the island; and recommended that every arrangement should be made by the inhabitants to evince their loyalty, and contribute to the comfort of their sovereign, who deigned to honour them with his presence, and confide his person to their keeping.

Nothing could exceed the exultation throughout the island which followed the joyful intelligence. The peasantry at once prepared to supply the markets with provisions of all kinds in abundance. In town all was activity; the streets were cleansed, obstructions removed, houses put in order, and lodgings and furniture provided for the followers of the court. The state apartments in the new castle were speedily refitted; at Mont Orgueil boats were collected for disembarking horses, carriages, and luggage, in the most convenient manner; and the Dutch men-of-war were held in readiness to slip their cables for Cotainville, on the first intimation of his majesty's arrival on the opposite coast.

CHAPTER V.

PARTING INTERVIEW BETWEEN MADEMOISELLE AND CHARLES II.—HE QUITS ST. GERMAIN'S AND EMBARKS FOR JERSEY—REJOICINGS AT HIS ARRIVAL —THREATENED BY PARLIAMENTARY SHIPS—THE KING AND HIS COURT AT ELIZABETH CASTLE—LOCAL PARLIAMENT CONVENED—THE KING AND HIS SUITE ATTEND CHURCH—VISIT TO MONT ORGUEIL—FATAL DUEL—DESPATCHES TO ORMOND — ROYAL COUNCIL — LORD PERCY NAMED GOVERNOR OF CASTLE CORNET—REVIEW OF THE INSULAR FORCES—FUNDS RAISED BY SALE OF CROWN LANDS—CHRISTENING OF SIR G. CARTERET'S DAUGHTER — QUERTO'S CONSPIRACY — ARRIVAL OF ROYALIST DEPUTIES FROM VARIOUS QUARTERS, AND OF DISTINGUISHED FOREIGNERS—DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM COMES OVER WITH HIS SUITE—THE KING'S LETTERS TO D. OF HAMILTON AND PRINCE RUPERT—MADAM BARLOW, THE ROYAL MISTRESS—PARDON OF A PARRICIDE—THE KING HOLDS A COURT BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE, AND GRANTS A PATENT FOR THE COLONY OF NEW JERSEY—HIS GRATITUDE TO THE MEN OF JERSEY—CONFIRMS THEIR ANCIENT RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES—THE KING'S LETTER TO ORMOND—DUKE OF YORK RETURNS TO FRANCE—CROMWELL PROVOKED BY THE "JERSEY PYRATES" — SURRENDER OF THE ISLAND TO BLAKE AND GENERAL HAYNES—CONCLUSION.

Before Charles sets out on his journey to the place of embarkation, it may not be uninteresting to take a hasty glance at Mademoiselle de Montpensier's account of her parting interview with him, which took place early in September. Being at Paris with the court, on hearing that her cousin and quondam suitor was on the eve of taking his departure, she hastened to St. Germain's to pay her respects to the royal mother, and to take leave of the son. Some other motive may have influenced her: the desire perchance to inflict punishment on him for his coolness at Compiègne, by displaying her own coquettish

indifference: for the second Empress of Germany having died, in fulfilment, as it were, of her flippant prophecy, she was again exhilarated with the idea of marrying the Emperor: being assured by the cardinal, as well as the queen-regent, that, this time, they would not fail to promote the alliance in good earnest—and she believed them!

Henrietta Maria, well aware of her resuscitated hopes, does not fail to congratulate her on the death of the Empress; and on the prospect which now opens to her of attaining the long cherished object of her ambition. "Nevertheless," pursues the Queen of England, "here is a young man who flatters himself that a king of eighteen would be a much more eligible match than an emperor of fifty, encumbered with four children. But I see how it is,—my son's poverty and his misfortunes prevent him from finding favour in your eyes." The arrogant niece replies; the petulant aunt rejoins; and a sharp encounter of wits ensues between the amiable relatives. But at length, the queen recovering her equanimity points out an English lady among her attendants, to whom, as she tells the princess, the king her son is very partial. "Only remark him; see how sheepish he looks, and how much annoyed he is, lest I should apprise you of his *penchant*."

The queen then retires with Mademoiselle into her private apartments, and carefully closing the doors, tells her that she has consented, at the king's earnest entreaty, to implore her to pardon him, if the proposal made to her, in his name, at Compiègne should have offended her. "The apprehension of its being displeasing to you," continues the royal mother, always intent on propitiating the heiress, "has haunted him ever since; but I must, notwithstanding, confess that, had you

accepted his offer, you would have been miserable; for, although an alliance with you would have been greatly to his advantage, I am too much interested in your welfare, to regret that you are not his companion in misfortune: all that I can now desire is, that his voyage may lead to prosperous results, and that you will think more favourably of him than you have done heretofore." The queen still indulges the hope that her niece may be induced to become her daughter-in-law.

The princess thanks her majesty respectfully and gratefully for her kind sentiments, and is about to take her leave in order to pay a visit to her half sisters, who have been placed at the abbey of Poissy during the disturbances of the Fronde. The Duke of York proposes going there with her, which she accepts; there can be no indecorum in the companionship of a mere boy; but when the king offers to accompany them, she thinks it will not be proper; but the queen being induced to escort them, they all set off in Mademoiselle's coach for Poissy. "During the whole drive," says the young lady, "her majesty talked of nothing else but the constancy and affection her son would evince towards any lady he chanced to espouse, and the King assented to the proposition, observing that he could not imagine it possible for a man who had an amiable wife to pay attention to any other woman; as to himself, he declared that whatever attachment he might have formed as a bachelor would cease the moment the marriage ceremony was performed."

The sagacious princess easily penetrates the real motives of these preconcerted sentiments, and assuredly her penetration was not at fault. Charles himself, young as he was, must have chuckled scornfully at himself and his mother, when he gave utterance to

professions so utterly at variance with those likely to emanate from Buckingham, Wilmot, and the rest of his gay associates.

As it was growing late when the royal party reached Poissy, the princess took her leave of the queen, who purposed staying at the abbey; the king conducted her to her coach, paid her a host of compliments, but abstained from any tender speeches, which indeed, the princess confesses, would have been thrown away upon her, as her thoughts were exclusively fixed upon the imperial throne of Germany.[1]

On the 10th of September his majesty named Edward, Prince Palatine, the Duke of Buckingham, and the Marquis of Ormond, Knights and Companions of the Garter. Cottington and Hyde were preparing instantly to start on their embassy to Spain. Culpepper was setting out for Russia to seek repayment of a considerable sum lent to the emperor by James the First. Jermyn was in Holland on pretence of business about the king's jewels, but in reality to confer with some of his Presbyterian faction; and Sir Edward Nicholas, anxiously aspiring to be reinstated in his old office, the secretaryship, was putting his house in order at Caen, preparatory to repairing to Jersey, where his majesty had commanded his attendance.

Charles the Second was sadly short of money, (seldom was he otherwise,) having not more than 300 pistoles left him to defray the charges of his journey,[2] and no hopes of a further supply except, perhaps, from Spain or

[1] She was again, however, doomed to disappointment. The Emperor married a third time without proposing to her, and after the battle of Worcester the match with Charles was again upon the *tapis*.

[2] This statement, frequently quoted from Whitelocke, is corroborated by an "Account of the Journey from Paris," found among the Clarendon

Sweden; for the French government, had they even been inclined to afford him pecuniary aid, were thoroughly drained by the expenses of the war, foreign and domestic; and the French people were so impoverished by excessive taxes, that the crown laboured under great difficulties, and was forced to resort to all manner of artifices to support itself.[1]

Nevertheless, the King of England and the Duke of York quitted St. Germain's on the 12th of September, and commenced their journey by way of Normandy towards the coast, with a small train, consisting of "but sixty horses, and six coaches with six horses

Papers, and evidently made out after his Majesty's arrival in Jersey. The sum mentioned in livres is about equal to 300 pistoles.

"1649.	LIVERS.	SDS.
Sept. 29.—Receiv of the Lord Treasurer in severall species as appears by a note given by his Lordship. . .	1912	00
„ Of the money remayning of that which was returned from Antwerpe	1352	00
„ Received of Mr. Wandesford . .	0400	00
„ Of Mr. James Prodger	0284	10
„ Of Mr. Clotterbooke	0050	00
„ More of Mr. Wandesford	0204	00
„ More of Mr. James Prodger . . .	0051	00
	4254	10
"Payd at the same time to Blavett for the Lords and their servants passage at 20p. a man, being 27 Persons	3400	00
To him more for the goods	0850	00
	4250	00
"Remained . .	4	10"

So that the assets in the exchequer, on the king's landing at Jersey, amounted to the vast sum of four livres and ten sous.

[1] Carte's Collection, vol. i. p. 311.

apiece," many of his servants and some gentlemen travelling on foot.[1] In his passage through Caen his majesty visited my lady Marchioness of Ormond, and expressed all possible respect to her. Continuing his progress from thence, he drew nigh to the ancient city of Coutances on the afternoon of the 16th. Claude Auvry, bishop of that diocese,[2] was no sooner informed of the approach of the royal brothers, whom he had been expecting, than he set forth some distance on the road, and, having met them, he placed them in his own coach, escorted them to Coutances, and had the honour of receiving them in the episcopal palace. They lodged there that night, were treated with the deepest respect, and entertained with the most sumptuous hospitality; and the following morning, the worthy prelate attended his illustrious guests to Cotainville, a seaport four leagues distant, where, by his orders, a splendid banquet with music and other recreations had been prepared.

[1] Whitelocke, 412.

[2] The bishop is no less a personage than the hero of Boileau's serio-comic epic, as will be seen from the opening stanza of "Le Lutrin," and the subjoined editorial note:—

> "Je chante les combats, et ce Prélat terrible,
> Qui par ses longs travaux, et sa force invincible,
> Dans une illustre Eglise exerçant son grand cœur,
> Fit placer à la fin un Lutrin dans le chœur."

"Claude Auvry, ancien Evêque de Coûtance, etoit alors Tresorier de la Sainte Chapelle. Il avoit été Camerier du Cardinal Mazarin: et comme il entendoit assez bien l'usage de la Cour de Rome sur les matières bénéficiales, il se rendit nécessaire à ce Cardinal qui possédoit un grand nombre de bénéfices. Le Cardinal lui fit donner l'Evêché de Coûtance en Normandie, qu'il quitta ensuite pour la Trésorerie de la Sainte Chapelle." The satirist, however, professes to have represented the hero of the poem in a light diametrically opposite to his real character.

Here his majesty found a flotilla from Jersey, consisting of Captain Saddleton's frigate, a new galley commanded by Captain Barnet, and a Flemish hoy, recently commissioned as a letter-of-marque. These vessels, equally adapted for rowing as for sailing, served as a convoy to sixteen or eighteen row-boats, among which was "the Prince's own pinnace," of eighteen oars, carrying a couple of swivels; manned by a stout crew, armed to the teeth with carbine, pistol, and cutlas, and under the command of Captain Bowden, who, having had the honour of conveying the Prince of Wales to Cotainville, was now selected to transport King Charles the Second from thence back to Jersey. Sir George Carteret had been ordered to employ the Dutch frigates for this service, but finding the wind contrary, he deemed it more prudent to send over row-boats in their stead.

The king and most of the courtiers, loath to forsake the tempting repast provided for them by the bishop, were well inclined "to stay there till next day, during which time his majesty might inform himself whether the coast was clear of Parliament ships, before he adventured his person in going over. The Duke and Sir John Berkeley were the only two oppos'd that Counsell, and advised that he should immediately imbarke, which they carry'd, and it may be truely said, that they thereby preserved his majesty. The reason which they gave was this,—that in all probability there could be no danger if he put to sea that day, because the wind was but newly come up easterly, and therefore that the Parliament ships, which lay at Guernsey, could not take advantage of, getting up time enough to hinder them from landing; but in case he should defer it till

the next morning, they might have leasure to put themselves between him and home."[1]

This advice, as has been said, prevailing, the king, the duke, the Earl of Brentford, the Lord Hopton, together with other noblemen and gentlemen in waiting, embarked in the royal barge to go on board of the largest of the pataches, which, from drawing much water, was moored at some distance from the shore. But the king, in high spirits the moment he grasped the tiller of the favourite craft, in which, under Bowden's tuition, he had so often buffeted the rippling waves of St. Aubin's bay, resolved to cross the Channel in her, being well accustomed to her trim, having an expert pilot on board, and finding that wind and tide were in his favour. The other row-boats were ordered to remain until the morrow, to embark horses, carriages, and luggage; the frigates were directed to follow in his wake, and on Monday, the 17th of September, shortly after noon, the king and his tiny squadron quitted the shores of France.

About four o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, the royal barge shoots rapidly into the roadstead of Elizabeth Castle, amid salutes from the Dutch men-of-war and the Jersey frigates. As she nears the landing place, Philip Carteret, lord of St. Ouen's, in fulfilment of the tenure by which he holds his manor, rides into the sea up to his saddle-girths, and bowing thrice in token of homage as he sits on horseback, welcomes his majesty on his happy arrival in his loyal isle of Jersey. The king then disembarks, and on his progress to the state apartments, attended by his train, and escorted

[1] The Rev. J. Stanier Clarke's Life of James the Second, vol. i. p. 47.

by the governor and his staff, repeated salvos of artillery and small arms are discharged from the ramparts of the fortress, amid loud acclamations from the garrison and the crowds of spectators assembled on the mainland. The *feu-de-joie* is taken up by the guns of each parish in succession throughout the island; from sunset until midnight the castle and the houses at St. Helier's are brightly illuminated, and the bells from every steeple in town and country ring out joyous, but dissonant peals.

These noisy demonstrations, however, says Chevalier, were not mere empty sounds. On the contrary, they indicated the intense satisfaction entertained by an overwhelming majority of the islanders, at finding that the King fully appreciated the services rendered to him when Prince of Wales. They considered themselves highly honoured at being deemed worthy of again sheltering and defending his sacred person, and rejoiced that their insignificant rock should be the only place in his dominions capable of affording him a safe and unexceptionable asylum. They were proud at having been among the first to proclaim their sovereign; and laid the flattering unction to their souls that, by their efforts in behalf of the weaker cause, they were fulfilling, to the letter, the scriptural injunction, "Fear God, and honour the king."

Our chronicler, who no doubt expresses the sentiments of his contemporaries, does not attempt to conceal, that some portion of the gratification they experienced arose from contrasting their own intermitting loyalty with the steady disaffection of their Guernsey neighbours, who not only abandoned the royal cause at the first signal of rebellion, but did their best, from the beginning to the end, to subdue one of its

most important strongholds, although without success; for Castle Cornet held out to the last. There is something to be said on both sides, as there is in most family quarrels: the dominant party in Guernsey was no doubt parliamentarian, arising as much from accidental circumstances as did the royalism of Jersey; but, in both places, there were exceptions. Had Guernsey owned a George Carteret as well as Jersey, the Channel Islands united might have exerted some more decided influence on the course of political events, as we may infer from that exercised by one alone, beset by all manner of dangers and difficulties.

The morning after his majesty's landing in Jersey the row-boats arrive, bringing over servants, tradesmen, and their luggage: after disembarking passengers and other lading, the boats return to Cotainville to fetch the horses, coaches, sumpter-wagons, and inferior attendants on the royal train; but they are scarcely out of sight of land, when a couple of parliament ships boldly make their appearance, cruising to and fro almost within gunshot of Elizabeth Castle and the forts. The loud and reiterated booming of the cannon, discharged the preceding evening in honour of the king's coming, having been heard from Guernsey, these two frigates, part of the squadron stationed there, are sent over to ascertain the cause of the unusual uproar, and to reconnoitre the strength of the naval force lying in Jersey roads.

The following day they are reinforced by two more frigates, and a couple of large men-of-war, the latter of which manœuvre for some hours before the castle, as if to intimidate the royal inmates of the fortress by their threatening and insulting aspect. Just before their arrival, however, it happens fortunately that the boats

containing the carriages and horses are safely moored under protection of the forts; but their convoy, Saddleton's frigate, bringing up the rear, is lagging behind. Saddleton is no sooner descried by the enemy, than they endeavour to cut him off; but his patache is of less draught than those of his adversaries; and he being better acquainted with the intricacies of the navigation, steers among the rocks, and after the exchange of a few shots, which do no great damage, he gets safely into port. The rebels, frustrated in their attempt, retire to St. Ouen's, on the western coast of the island, where they anchor for the night. The next morning they renew their insolent bravadoes, displaying their republican flag before the royal castle; and so continue to hover for several days around the shores of Jersey, but without succeeding in making any prizes of importance, or in capturing a single boat employed in transporting his majesty's servants or effects.[1] "Dieu les ayant preservés," continues Chevalier, "de tomber entre leurs mains, car ils venoient pour essayer de prendre le Roy."

Taking into consideration the various trifling circumstances by which Charles's movements were interfered with and modified, during his remove from France to Jersey, it is evident that, at this time, as well as afterwards at Boscobel, he narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the rebels. Had he taken passage from St. Maloes, in the men-of-war sent thither by the Prince

[1] "A squadron of the rebels ships (I hear) ply now about Jersey by order from the rebels; but the Michaelmas storms will, I believe, make that so unquiet a road for them as they will not be able long to continue there."—Nicholas to Ormonde, Caen, Oct. 8th, 1649—Carte's Collection.

of Orange; had he neglected the advice of the Duke of York, and lingered but another day at Cotainville; had the wind blown from the west instead of from the east; had not Sir George Carteret's prudence and nautical experience induced him to substitute swift row-boats for heavy-sailing Dutch frigates,—his majesty would, in all probability, have been intercepted, and could hardly have avoided being captured. In this case, what a wide field of speculation opens before our view; and how difficult it is to conceive the consequences of such an event to the affairs of Great Britain, Ireland—nay, even to those of France and other European states.

Be that as it may, Charles the Second, his brother, and their personal attendants, became the honoured guests of Sir George Carteret at Elizabeth Castle. Various authorities concur in asserting that the scarcely-royal train consisted of not less than 300 persons: and Chevalier, confirming this statement, gives the following list of "the noblemen, gentlemen, and other individuals of note, who accompanied the King and the Duke of York, and subsequently joined them in Jersey."

The Lord Keeper of the King's Seal (Lane).
Earl of Cleveland.[1]
Earl of Brentford.
Lord Wentworth.
Lord Hopton.
Lord Wilmot.
Lord Gerrard.

[1] Earl of Southampton, elected Companion of the Garter at Jersey by declaratory letters, but after the Restoration presented "with the garter and George as open testimonyes of his former election."—Walker's Coronation of Charles the Second.

Lord Percy.
Lord Byron.
The Duke of Buckingham (who came to fetch the King away).
Sir Frederick Cornwallis, his Majesty's Purse-bearer.
Sir John Berkeley.
Sir John Hallet, Clerk of the Council.
Sir Edward Nicholas.
Sir Richard Pegge.
Sir John Morley.
Sir William Fleming.
Sir Edward Parker.
Sir Edward Walker.
Sir Edward Herbert.
Sir Bernard Gascoigne.
Sir Marmaduke Langdale ("Sir Marmett, Duc Landalle").[1]
Sir Philip Musgrave.
Sir Questover Lewknor.
Mr. Long, Secretary to the Council.
Mr. Bree, Secretary to his Majesty (?)[2]
Mr. Henry Seymour,
Mr. Thomas May,
Mr. Thomas Elliot,
Mr. Marsh,
} Grooms of the King's Bed-chamber.
Colonel Wynham, husband to the King's nurse.
Mr. Wyndham (his son), Gentleman Usher.
Mr. Hayguer (?), Page of Honour to the King.
Mr. Hayguer (?) (his brother), Page of Honour to the Duke of York.
Mr. Fox (Sir Stephen), Master of the Horse.

[1] *Sic* in Chevalier's Journal.
[2] The note of interrogation indicates uncertainty, arising from the quaint orthography of the chronicler.

Mr. Fox's brother, who carried the King's Prayer-book when he went to church.

Mr. Smith,
Mr. Pooley (?),
Mr. Alford,
} Gentlemen Ushers.

Mr. Henry Bennet, Secretary to the Duke of York.

Mr. Morley, Master of Horse to the Duke of York.

Mr. Nichols,
Mr. Romsey,
} Grooms of the Chamber to the Duke.

Mr. Baptist May, Page of Honour to the Dukes.

Mr. Tredvil (?), Secretary to Lord Hopton.

Mr. Jenkins, Groom of the Chamber to Lord Wentworth.

Rev. Doctor Stewart,
Rev. Doctor Creigton,
Rev. Doctor Clare,
Rev. Doctor Clay,
} Divines.

Doctor Frazer,
Doctor Wiseman,
} Physicians.

Mr. Cheyer (?), Apothecary.

Mr. Johnson, Gentleman Waiter.

Mr. Paul,
Mr. Brand,
} Butlers.

Mr. Aiger (?), his Majesty's Tailor, "whose wife, although clothed in silks and other fine stuffs, resembled a captain of Dragoons much more than a woman."

Mr. Richard Snead,[1] Tailor to the Duke of York.

In addition to these, there were pages of the back-stairs, yeomen cooks, sewers, ushers, footmen, coachmen and grooms, tailors, shoemakers, barbers, and other tradesmen, whose wives formed a detachment of sempstresses, laundresses, washerwomen, &c.

[1] Snead was transformed into Schneider, during his residence among the Dutch.

Among the military officers were Colonels Boynton, Waller, Roger Burgess, Whaley, Robinson, Osborne, Darby and Leighton; Captain Meade, Captain Lindon, and a certain Mr. Gouin (?), an agent belonging to the Dutch ships, who was sent over to watch proceedings, and report the progress of events to his master, the Prince of Orange.

The King, the Duke, and the chief personages among the courtiers, were lodged at Elizabeth Castle, which had been much enlarged; many more dwellings having been built since the prince's sojourn there, under the direction of Sir George Carteret, who had likewise, on his return from France, provided ample accommodation for the officers of the court, and persons of inferior rank, in the town of St. Helier's. He had also caused spare beds, bedding and furniture to be brought in from the country, and peremptory orders had been issued, enjoining the peasantry to supply the markets daily with butcher's meat, fish, poultry, eggs, butter, vegetables and fruit, at reasonable prices; so that no sooner had the royal attendants landed, than his majesty's purveyor (*fourrier*) was enabled to place them in suitable quarters, and provide with all the necessaries of life. So great, however, was the number of persons who subsequently came to attend upon the king, that they were forced to take up their abode in the rural districts; the other town of St. Aubin's, the seaport, being already overcrowded with captains of privateers and their crews.

More difficulty, however, appears to have been experienced in obtaining forage and litter for the horses, than food and lodging for the grooms. Although good prices and prompt payment were offered to the peasantry, they brought in provender unwillingly and scantily, alleging

that they had not more than barely enough for their own cattle; and great murmurings were uttered by them about scarcity of food and impending famine. Hereupon Sir George issued quantities of corn, hay, straw, and oats from his magazine in the castle, and immediately sent to France for more. It is clear that he understood the effects of free trade, and practised the as yet unborn precepts of political economists, with marvellous sagacity and success. In order to induce the Norman peasantry on the opposite coast to bring over ample supplies of provisions, he removed all restrictions formerly imposed for the protection of the islanders, with whom the importers were thereby enabled to compete. The consequence was that, in a short time, the Jersey markets overflowed with articles of food for man and beast; monopoly was destroyed, and instead of impending famine, cheap food abounded more than sufficiently to meet the demand of the vastly increased number of consumers.

The royal stud, the original cause of these economical measures, consisted of six superb black horses, without a speck of white, for the king's coach; six black horses, with merely a white star in the forehead, for the Duke of York's carriage; six others of a reddish-brown colour, (six bays, in short,) for the coach appropriated for the use of the lords of the privy council; furthermore, saddle-horses for the king and the lords; others for the baggage-waggons, and others again for different purposes, all well trained to *manège*. His majesty had likewise sent back to Coutances five carriage horses and a superb charger as presents to Bishop Auvry: in token of his majesty's sense of his hospitable entertainment at the episcopal palace, and in acknowledgment

of another delicate attention on the part of the courteous bishop in loading the sumpter boats with a profusion of exquisite pies, choice sweetmeats, and other succulent portions of the banquet left untouched at Cotainville in consequence of his abrupt departure. Claude Auvry accepted these gracious marks of his majesty's condescension with infinite gratitude, prizing the superb horses, not so much on account of their blood and breeding, as for the sake of the honour conferred on him by the royal donor.

This point settled, and Charles feeling quite at home in his old quarters, ordered his favourite barge to be got ready. Accompanied by the duke his brother, some of his intimate associates, and taking with him servants, dogs, and fowling-pieces, he pulled away gaily from Elizabeth Castle. The party first landed at St. Aubin's, passed some short time in inspecting the public works in progress there, and then, being put on shore at St. Brelade's, proceeded on a shooting excursion in the surrounding country. What quantity of game they succeeded in shooting on this occasion, must, we fear, for ever remain a mystery.

Whilst the king was thus amusing himself, totally oblivious of his poverty, his host, the indefatigable and prudent lieutenant-governor, was voluntarily engaged in performing the arduous, but by no means needless, duties of chancellor of the exchequer. Before producing his budget, or, indeed, giving any indication of his main object, he deemed it essential to his scheme for providing ways and means, to pay off old scores; conscious that, "'Tis best to be off with the old love before you begin with the new." He therefore ordered the constables to call in exchequer bills held by capitalists

who had advanced money or money's worth for revictualling the castles in April, at his majesty's requisition; and having discounted them out of his own private funds, redeemed the promise made by Charles "on the word of a king."

Being now in a position to call for a fresh loan, Sir George convened the local parliament, without whose concurrence no tax could constitutionally be levied; and having represented to them the propriety of raising a sum of money to be placed, in token of their loyalty, at his majesty's disposal, the following Act was passed unanimously. It would be little short of literary treason to offer to translate this original document:—

"L'an de grâce mil six cent quarante et neuf, le vingt unième jour de Septembre. D'autant qu'il a plut à Dieu nous avoir donné et beni en cette île d'un honneur qu'aucuns habitans de ce pays n'avoient reçu; ou qu'il a plu à notre souverain Sire, le Roi Charles Second, être venu en cette dite île, et nous honnorer de la vue de sa personne. C'est pourquoi monsieur le Lieutenant-Gouvernor et Bailly à representé à Messieurs les Etats, consideré l'honneur dont il a plu à Dieu nous avoir ainsi beni et fait jouir; et que chacun bon et fidèle sujet de sa Majesté en doit avoir une indicible joie et ressentiment; et, pourtant, ne doit épargner aucunement sa personne, sa vie, ni ses biens, afin de témoigner par effet, l'affection prompte et volontaire qu'ils portent à son service; et vu que, par une coûtume louable aux pays et royaumes circonvoisins, lorsqu'il plait aux Rois honorer quelques villes, et corporations de leur Etâts de tems entrée en icelle, avec tous les devoirs et soumissions requises des habitans; ils leur font present de quelque somme notable

de deniers, en témoignage de leur bonne affection, humilité et obeissance à leur service.

"A cet effêt Messieurs les Etâts, ayant pris en consideration la proposition du dit Sieur Lieutenant Gouverneur, ont trouvés propre et expedient qu'il sera levé sur chacun des habitans de cette île, vingt sous tournois par chacun quartier de froment qu'ils pouvoient valoir de revenu annuel, soit en terre, froments ou argents, cinquante écus (*half-crowns*), estimés à un quartier de froment; lequel argent sera levé par les connétables, ou vingteniers, après un rât fait par ceux qui sont appointés, et le dit argent, ainsi receuilli, sera par après, avec toute humilité, presenté à sa Majesté."

So great was the enthusiasm engendered by the actual presence of royalty, that the islanders cheerfully loosened their purse-strings, although the rate was just double that of any former assessment. In a few days the sum of five thousand and seventy *écus*, equal to 633*l.* 15*s.* sterling, was subscribed; and, after reimbursing those who some year or two before had advanced the loan for Castle Cornet, the balance was presented with all humility to his majesty, and of course graciously accepted. The whole of this offering, really liberal, considering time and place, was not, however, lavished in personal expenditure, for on the faith of the new loan, blanks were issued for the present relief of Guernsey Castle, as the following document, found among the Clarendon Papers, testifies:—

"The 23rd day of September 1649[1]

"Memorandum that I have received, the day and year above written, blancs signed by his majesty for the

[1] Two days only after the meeting of the States, it must be remarked.

sùinme of one thousand pounds,[1] viz: two, of two hundred pounds a piece; four of one hundred pounds a piece; and four, of fifty pounds a piece. And I promise, what money shall be received upon them, shall be employed for his majesty's service in the Isle of Garnesey; and such of them upon which no money can be received shall be returned again.

"PERCY."[2]

Charles being now in a Protestant country, conscious that his religious demeanour would be narrowly observed, and that the Puritan islanders would be highly scandalized at his not making his appearance at public worship, lost no time in giving notice that he would attend morning service in the temple of St. Helier's the first Sabbath after his arrival. In anticipation of the event, the old church was decorated with green boughs and flowers; the aisles were strewed with rushes; the space before the pulpit was spread with a carpet, whereon a chair of state was placed for his majesty, and a stool beside it, on the left hand, for the Duke of York, with cushioned tables before them, to support the service books.

On the morning of the 23d of September the weather proved so boisterous, and it rained so heavily, that it was doubtful whether the King would venture to cross the channel between Elizabeth Castle and the main. The concourse of gazers, and the congregation assem-

[1] This sum, it is true, much exceeds the total amount of the Jersey loan; but we shall find that Charles afterwards raised money by the sale of crown-lands and rents in the island, in anticipation of which the above-mentioned *assignats* were issued.

[2] Lord Percy was at this time appointed governor of Castle Cornet, as will be seen by the sequel.

bled in the church, were in consequence not so numerous as on his first visit in 1646; not that there was any diminution of loyalty on the part of the islanders, —very much the reverse—but their curiosity was much restrained by the state of the weather; in spite of which, however, his Majesty, the Duke, the lords and their attendants crossed over to say their prayers.[1]

The King, then about nineteen years of age, continues our journalist, was of middle stature, well

[1] The following lines, composed for the occasion, exhibit Chevalier's pretensions to poetry as well as prose :—

"Comme le Roi, et le Duc D'Yorck vinrent la première fois au prêche au Temple de Saint Hellier, en la Ville de Jersey.

"Lorsque le plus grand Astre acheva sa carrière,
Mettant la nuit au jour, et l'ombre à la lumière,
Au temple St. Hellier, une vive clarté,
Vint faire un nouveau jour dans cette obscurité;
Du creux du grand tombeau la clarté jaillisante,
Imitant du Soleil la lumière naissante.
Mille rayons dorés dissipent les ténèbres,
Y servant d'ornement aux ornemens funèbres;
Et parmi cent objets, le plus beau apparoit,
A nos yeux ce bon Roi le plus digne des Rois.
Jersey est honoré du Roi Charles second,
Duquel la Majesté éclate sur le front:
Et, quoiqu'il semble triste, il plait, charmant aux yeux,
Comme un beau jour serein, que l'on voit sous les cieux.
Lorsque par le respect une telle aventure
Impose le silence à toute la nature,
Ce Prince, personne sacrée,
Dans le Temple fait son entrée."

Chevalier, however, is not the only Jerseyman given to rhyming, for we have Robert Wace, who gave the following account of himself, five centuries before :—

"Je di et dirai ke je suis
Vaice, de lisle de Gersui;
Ki est en mer vers l'occident
Al fieu de Normendie assënt."

formed, and graceful; remarkably erect, and his limbs well knit; altogether very noble in his aspect. The expression of his features, although sedate, was pleasing; his complexion rather sallow, and his hair dark brown, inclining somewhat to black. As to his demeanour, although dignified, it was affable to all those whom he honoured with his discourse. His habiliments were all purple—a colour always worn by royal personages in deep mourning, as his majesty still was. No embroidery, either of gold or silver, ornamented his doublet or hose, but on the left side of his cloak a silver star was attached. Across his chest he wore a purple scarf or ribbon, and a garter of the same colour, the ends of which hung down behind the leg, encircled his left knee. The housings of his charger and the covering of his holsters were likewise of purple stuff, but without any kind of embroidery.

The Duke of York, who had completed his fifteenth year, was tall for his age, and slight in figure, but remarkably lively and pleasant in his manner. His Highness was attired in an entire suit of black, without any other ornament or decoration than the silver star displayed upon his mantle. He also wore a purple scarf across his shoulders.

The lords, knights, esquires, together with the inferior officers and servants, were mostly dressed in black, out of respect for the memory of the late king, whose sad fate they ceased not to lament. Some few of the attendants, it is true, wore red cloaks, and two or three mantles of other colours. The coaches too were painted black, or covered with black cloth; the very horses, even to the harness, were of the same

sombre hue; in short, everything about the royal *cortège* exhibited signs of the deepest mourning.

The King and the whole suite having taken their places in church, the service was commenced, and performed by Doctor Byam.[1] This reverend divine, on his coming from Scilly to Jersey, in 1646, being too far advanced in years to follow the Prince of Wales into France, had remained ever since at Elizabeth Castle, officiating there as garrison chaplain. At the conclusion of his sermon the preacher, by command, announced that it was his majesty's gracious intention to repair to the same temple once every fortnight: the chapel at the Castle being too small to accommodate more than his own personal attendants, whereas he was desirous of seeing the whole of his followers assembled in the same

[1] Henry Byam, born in 1580, was a student of Exeter and Christ Church, at Oxford, in 1599. "He soon became one of the greatest ornaments of this University, and the most noted person there for his excellent and polite learning: which being seconded with judgement and experience, when he began to serve the Altar, made him like a burning and shining light, and to be looked upon as the most acute and eminent preacher of his age." Having taken his degree of Bachelor of Divinity, anno 1612, he succeeded his father in the Rectory of Luckham, in Somersetshire, and, in 1636, became Prebendary of Exeter. At the breaking out of the rebellion he raised, at his own expense, both men and horse for his majesty, "and engaged his five sons in that just quarrel." He was the first person seized in the parts where he resided "by Robt. Blake, then a captain of dragoons." His wife and daughter, endeavouring to escape the cruelties of the rebels, "by flight over sea into Wales, were both drowned." Byam, escaping from prison, fled to the king at Oxford, where he took his doctor's degree, and afterwards coming to Jersey remained at Elizabeth Castle till it surrendered to his old enemy, Blake, then "General at sea under Oliver." After this he lived in obscurity, poor and retired; "but as soon as that glorious star (Charles the Second) appeared in the British firmament he was made Canon of Exeter and Prebendary of Wells," and had not his own modesty stood in his way, "he must have died a Bishop."—Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. pp. 429, 430.

place of worship. Had Charles behaved with equal decorum, and evinced as much tact, in Scotland as in Jersey, he would assuredly have averted some of the rigour of Presbyterian persecution.

A few days after his attendance at church, the royal brothers and some of the lords paid a visit to Mont Orgueil, and after spending some short time in examining the curious old fortress, they took their guns and dogs and enjoyed a day's shooting in the surrounding country. The King, during his sojourn in the island, had frequent recourse to sporting excursions in various parts of the country, at which times he with the greatest affability and condescension visited the country gentry: often sleeping at their houses, and receiving their liberal hospitality with good-humoured graciousness.

He had already rendered himself very popular among them by granting them various little immunities and favours, during his residence in France; for we find that about this time Sir George Carteret, at the first sitting of the "Cour d'héritage,"[1] exhibited certain deeds, granted at his solicitation when he was at St. Germain's, by the king. By these deeds his majesty engaged to entail on the eldest sons of the lords of the principal fiefs, fifty quarters of wheat rent for the benefit

[1] The Cour d'héritage is a tribunal of great antiquity, peculiar to the Norman isles, and is so named from its admitting "none but hereditary matters to be discussed and treated in it; as partitions of estates between co-heirs; differences among neighbours about bounds, new disseizins, and intrusions on other men's lands; pre-emptions between kindred; and other things of the like nature;" including all proceedings for wheat or other perpetual rents. After the first sitting of each term the governor, in the king's name, formerly caused a solemn repast to be prepared, at which the holders of fiefs had right as guests to dine, nominally with the king,—*Edere cum rege ter in anno*,—"a custom doubtless older than the Conquest."—Durell's Falle, pp. 159—424.

of their estates, but ostensibly for the maintenance of two stout men and two good horses, for his majesty's service, whenever this might be required. And in like manner, thirty quarters of perpetual and unalienable rent was granted to the eldest sons of the two largest landholders in each parish, for the maintenance of one tall fellow and one sturdy horse, for the service of the sovereign lord.

"Aussi, au même jour," continues Chevalier, "Monsieur Edouard Hamptonne, fils de Monsr. Laurent Hamptonne, gentilhomme, Vicomte de cette île, presenta une patente, signée du Roi, par laquelle il etoit autorisé, du don de sa Majestẽ, de l'office de Vicomte par reversion, après le décès de son père, ou toutefois et quantes il plairoit à son père lui resigner la place. Laquelle patente il avoit obtint du Roi, à St. Germain, en France, au voyage qu'il fit avec Sir George, lequel lui fit obtenir de sa Majesté Britannique."

The said Edward was the eldest son of one of those houses bound to maintain the single horse and man; his father was the sheriff who in virtue of his office proclaimed Charles the Second in Jersey; on being appointed Lieutenant Bailiff he resigned the Shrievalty to his son, whom he survived. We shall have to return to the family of the Hamptonnes, by whom Charles was frequently entertained, and of whose house he was an occasional inmate during the sporting expeditions above alluded to.

But even in this peaceful retreat, and in the enjoyment of the hospitalities of the country gentlemen, Charles was not secure from domestic annoyances. The wranglings and broils among his followers, which had driven him precipitately from the Hague, were beginning

to be renewed in Jersey. A duel was fought on the 29th of September between two of his captains, on the sands of St. Aubin's bay; one of the combatants, being run through the body with a sword, was mortally wounded, and died the same day. An inquest was held on the body, the survivor was committed to Mont Orgueil, and at once brought to a court-martial. But as he stated in his defence, that his antagonist had impaled himself on his own sword, in a struggle to disarm him after a parry, and as this statement was in accordance with the declaration of the dying man, the survivor was pardoned. The King, however, in order to check similar occurrences, issued a proclamation forbidding that any challenge should be given or accepted by any of his followers, on pain of instant dismissal from his service, and banishment from the island. By the advice of his council, he furthermore decreed, that in future all persons engaging in personal encounter should be sentenced to death, and executed, without any appeal to royal clemency. These decided measures fully answered the purpose, and no more duels were fought during his majesty's sojourn in the island.

The day after the combat between the two captains, Mrs. Wyndham arrived from France to join her husband and her son; and, doubtless, to worry her royal nurseling. There is no mention made in the Chronicle, it is true, of her causing any serious disturbance in Jersey; but we can hardly imagine that the presence of a lady, so celebrated for her termagant propensities, should have contributed to his majesty's comfort; especially if credit is to be given to Pepys, who, on the authority of his gossip Captain Cocke, asserts that Mrs. Wyndham

was one that, while she lived, "governed the king and every one else, as a minister of state."

The same day the Earl of Brentford took leave of his royal pupil, having enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing him safe in dominions he could truly call his own. The earl, now well stricken in years, being upwards of eighty, was desirous, after his long and arduous services, of retiring into private life; taking advantage, therefore, of the dismissal and departure of the Dutch frigates, he embarked on board one of them, in order to ensure a direct passage by sea to Holland, where his lady, a princess of the house of Hesse, and his daughter, had long been anxiously awaiting him.

From this time, the end of September, nothing of moment occurs in Jersey till the 12th of October, Old Style, on which day we find Lord Byron and Mr. Secretary Long busily employed in writing despatches to be transmitted to the Marquis of Ormond by Harry Seymour; and from these despatches we shall take leave to select copious extracts:—

"Mr. Secretary Long to the M. of Ormonde.[1]

"Jersey, Oct. 12-22, 1649.

"May it please your Excellency,

"His Majesty having been some time in this island, and having his thoughts much taken up with the consideration of his affairs in Ireland, resolved to send some fit person to your Excellency to be informed of the state of things there, and to give some account of his own resolutions. His Majesty conceived himself

[1] Carte's Collection, vol. i. p. 316, *et seq.*

obliged to this resolution by the want of all other means of good intelligence from that kingdom, not having heard from thence since your Excellency's dispatch of the 8th of August last, which came not to his Majesty's hands till since his arrival in this Island.[1] His Majesty having fixt upon the bearer Mr. Seymour to be sent, as a person of confidence and known integrity, I have endeavoured to put into his instructions that which could not, conveniently, have been said by letters; and have there briefly represented to your Excellency the present state of the King's condition, that you might be truly informed, when you are to deliver your opinion in a matter of so great importance as his Majesty's present repair into that kingdom.

"The truth is, the King's condition in this place is so uneasy, so inconvenient, and so out of the way of his affairs that he hath just cause to desire to make as little stay here as he can. But his own generous desires to be active in his affairs; to own the affections and endeavours of his friends in Ireland; and to partake of those hazards, in his own person, which they have already so gallantly sustained for his sake and service,—put him on with some ardour to hasten his journey thither: if your Excellency, upon consideration of his Majesty's condition here, and of the state of things there, shall advise him thereunto, &c.

"Robert Long."

[1] The despatch of the 8th of August from Kilkenny, contains a brief official report of "that fatal blow near Dublin;" but the news of the defeat of the royal army had reached Paris much earlier through the "Diurnals," as well as from other sources, and determined his majesty to go immediately to Jersey, and from thence embark for Ireland.—Carte, vol. i. p. 337; vol. ii. p. 392.

"Lord Byron to the M. of Ormonde.

"Jersey Oct. 12th, 1649

"May it please your Excellence

"If his Majesty would have permitted me, I had performed this journey myself; but tho'[1] I could not obtain that favour of him, yet he granted me the next to it; which was to recommend this bearer Mr. Henry Seymour to the employment —— His charge is not only to carry you the true state of the King's affairs here, but to bring back your advice; and particularly concerning his Majesty's passage into Ireland: which, though in this conjuncture, it may not appear counsellable, as bringing too much hazard with it to the king's person; yet his honour is so much endangered by a longer absence from thence, and his person by too long a continuance here, that he ought rather to expose the same to any danger with hopes of preserving the other; than, by reprieving that for a time, be sure at last to lose both.

"'Tis true, he will not be able for the present to bring along with him any supplies either of men, money or arms; which was the greatest arguments used to oppose his going from the Hague into Ireland, when I pressed it so much, and that therefore he should stay, till, being better provided, his presence would be more acceptable. But I find that his stay hath

[1] Mr. Seymour is Long's cousin, sent over with Lord Hopton's cypher to enable Ormond, who has lost his key, to decypher previous despatches. Another cypher is also sent over to facilitate correspondence of a confidential and private nature,—hints intended to assist the Irish party in circumventing the Scotch.

"been so far from enabling him any way, that it hath extreamely increased his necessities, and that foreign Princes (though I am confident whensoever he comes into action he will sufficiently confute such opinions) begin to look upon him as a person so lazy and careless in his own business, that they think it not safe, by contributing anything to his assistance, to irritate so potent enemies as they fear his rebellious subjects are like to prove. So that though Drogheda (which God forbid) should fall into the rebels hands, yet I humbly conceive that it ought not to retard his journey into Ireland, but rather to hasten it, that he may come at least whilst he hath something left to fight for, and not be taken here in a nook of the world, with his hands in his pockets, as he is sure to be, if he continue here till the season of the year permit the rebels to attempt it. Besides all this, there want not persons so malicious here as to whisper (for speak it aloud they dare not) that your Excellency dissuades the king's coming into Ireland, upon the pretence of his safety; but that the real cause is, that you are loth your power should be eclipsed by his presence. —— In fine, when in the sad condition the king is now in, there appears so much hazard in all resolutions that can be taken, certainly those are to be preferred that are most honourable. This I have, ever since my coming out of Ireland, urged with all possible importunity; but not being seconded by letters from your Excellence, it passed but for my private opinion, and therefore could not prevail against so potent a faction as opposed."

Another ally of the Irish faction, Secretary Nicholas, comes to Jersey just about the time these letters are

being written. Lord Byron knowing the trust reposed in him, and the good opinion he had of his integrity, "presumed" to recommend him, in the marquis's name, to the king; which, amid much opposition, prevailed to gain him admittance into the council, and promised to restore him to his secretaryship, "especially if his Excellency be pleased to recommend him thereunto in his letters."

On the 13th of October, Sir Edward Nicholas writes to the marquis from Jersey:—

"There are Scots commissioners coming hither; but their propositions are as unreasonable as the former sent into Holland.[1] They have now a strong faction about the King: and the lord Jermyn, (who is esteemed the head of the Scots presbyterian faction) hath, it's said, gained many that are now about his majesty to his party; and, some say, will come hither to assist with all his interest and power the advancement of the King's designs. The truth is, Sir Edw. Hyde being so unnecessarily, and unskilfully employed in Spain, hath given an infinite advantage to the Scots presbyterians; for he was expert in all their jigs and artifices, and, only, understood their canting. I am now here on this place, and shall constantly continue about the King; so as I beseech your Excellency to let me understand clearly, and fully what you conceive best to be here insisted on, or done for advancing his Majesty's service, and when you would advise him to move from hence to Ireland. —— By intelligence from good hands, and my own particular observation since I first went to

[1] In support of this assertion he encloses "a copy of the letter which the Scots have prepared to send to the King; but it's not yet come."

St. Germains, the Lord Jermyn is not only entirely of the Scots presbyterian faction, but I may tell your excellency, he is no friend to the M. of Ormonde, or the M. of Montrose."

Beseeching his excellency to keep this to himself, "Cha. Ledison" concludes his epistle.

Whatever may have been the anxiety of the contending factions to oblige the King to come to some decision, it is clear that the opinion entertained by the "foreign Princes" as to his laziness and carelessness in his own business, was well founded. It was just as agreeable, perhaps much more so, to Charles to saunter away his time, with his hands in his empty pockets, among his loyal, hospitable, unpretending Jersey subjects, as to "fash" himself with the affairs of Scotland, or "bother" himself with those of Ireland.

Before his majesty is called upon to make final election between the rival partisans; before Harry Seymour can set sail with his despatches and instructions, an Irish frigate anchors in Jersey roads, amid the smoky, noisy, gunpowder demonstrations which issue from the bastions of Elizabeth Castle, on the 14th of October (O.S.), 1649, in celebration of the Duke of York's fifteenth birthday. The people of the frigate, at first astonished at the cannonade, no sooner ascertain the cause, than they join in a salute of fifteen guns.

Chevalier's information respecting the arrival of the Irish frigate goes no further; but letters from Jersey, written at this period, render it tolerably certain that *The Cock* brought over Ormond's despatches, dated Kilkenny, the 27th of September, containing the sad assurance of the loss of Drogheda, with above 2,000 of his best foot, and above 200 horse; and an account of

the unexampled cruelty of the besiegers. Nevertheless, the marquis, who had discouraged the King's going to Ireland so long as there was a chance of reducing that kingdom without his presence, now changes his opinion, and holds it absolutely necessary for his majesty to appear there in person. "This seeming preposterous change," he deems it incumbent on him to explain, "proceeds not from a less care of your Majesty's safety, but from a greater desire of your glory, consisting in your being restored to your kingdoms by the blessing of God upon your immediate conduct of your affairs and armies; for which by a special providence they seem to be reserved, and without which it is evident, not only to me, but to all that for faith and judgement I hold capable of such a debate, that this kingdom will very shortly eject all signs of obedience to your Majesty, and revert to the condition it was in, when your Majesty commanded me hither, or rather to a much worse. —— But now that the rebels are so exalted in their pride, even as high as success, and the lowest contempt of an enemy can raise them, any check given by your Majesty to them will hazard the ruin of their usurpation, and the restoring of your Majesty. It will be ruin to them, if the progress of their arms be but stopped, and to your Majesty infinite honour to have attempted it with such disadvantage, whatever the event be, yet I should not dare advise the purchase of it at too desperate a rate, nor your coming into this kingdom, if I did not believe your Majesty may have as safe a residence here, and retreat hence, as I can conceive that in or from Jersey to be." [1]

This pressing invitation had a contrary effect to

[1] Carte's Collection, vol. ii. p. 404.

what might have been expected, considering the previous zeal of those who had been so long urging his majesty's departure for Ireland. It was now deemed advisable for him to stay where he was, and not hazard his person until further and more certain information could be obtained as to the true condition of that kingdom, and Mr. Seymour being still in Jersey, other letters were added to his former instructions, of which the following is a specimen :—

" Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.[1]

" Jersey Oct. 16-26, 1649

" May it please your Excellency

" This noble gentleman (Seymour) being stayed here by cross winds longer than was expected, hath given me the opportunity to make this addition to my former letter. We had very lately the certain sad news of the taking of Drogheda, and the cruelty used by those inhuman rebels that took it : which hath made a great impression of grief in his Majesty, and all good men with him. But it's observed that, the presbyterian faction here are not unchearful upon this important loss ; conceiving (as is supposed) it may make the King cast himself the sooner upon the Presbyterian party.

" The truth is, all good men here are at a stand, considering his Majesty's extreme necessities, and how he is cast off by all his friends and allies : and none knows what to advise or counsel him. The rebels of England make account, that they may have him, and the Duke of York, without much difficulty : and some advertise that they intend shortly to attempt it. Some here are

[1] Carte's Collection, vol. i. p. 326.

of opinion that the King should go with six or eight servants into Holland, and there remain as a private person, till he shall be able by my lord Montrose's means, and other friends to get some forces to go for Ireland, and put himself into action. I should be glad in this exigence to receive your advice and counsel in a business of so great concernment. We here very much apprehend the danger the King's ships are in at Kinsale; all things in Ireland being rendered here to be in a very desperate condition.

"I have herein sent your Excellency all that I know or can learn of the King's hopes of assistance for any occasion.[1] I shall now only add what in some former letters I have intimated; that you will be pleased to be wary how far you rely on, and what you communicate to Lord Jermyn; for if I am truly informed by my lord Hatton, and others who honour your Excellency, Lord Jermyn hath no kindness at all to you, and Mr. Long is his lordship's creature and intelligencer. My freedom in this I hope your Excellency will make use of for your advantage, and receive as an assurance that I am entirely and really &c.

"CHA. LEDISON."

[1] The extracts enclosed are from Sir Richard Browne, chiefly relating to the state of politics on the Continent, the only reference to Charles's affairs being contained in the following paragraph:—"I have also advice, that Sir —— Swan * hath lately had a very gracious audience with the Emperor, who hath promised all possible assistance to his Majesty at the next imperial Dyet, and that in the Princes of Germany and in the Swedes, there are no less kind inclinations; the effects whereof will appear, as soon as possibly the affairs of the Empire can be settled."

* Sir William Swann.

The following Sunday, five days after the date of the foregoing letter, we ascertain from our journal that Captain Saddleton set sail for Jersey, with orders, in the first instance to touch at Scilly, and deliver letters from the king to Sir John Grenville; then to proceed to Ireland with a packet of despatches from his majesty to the Marquis of Ormond. Sir John Digby, and several other English gentlemen bound for Ireland, took passage in the patache. It may fairly be concluded that Mr. Henry Seymour was one of the number,[1] charged, in addition to his despatches, with the George and Garter lately conferred upon the marquis; for, in the course of the ensuing month, his excellency mentions the arrival of Mr. Seymour, and gratefully acknowledges the manifestation of his majesty's esteem transmitted through that gentleman. "From this time the marquis wore the ribband, star, St. George's cross, and other badges of the order, though he was not installed, nor invested with the habit until after the King's restoration."

It being now finally arranged that his majesty was to remain in Jersey, until further advices could be received in regard to the true state of affairs in Ireland, he had leisure to turn his attention to other parts of his dominions. Accordingly, on Tuesday the 23d of October, in the first year of his reign, Charles the Second held a council at Elizabeth Castle; at which place, and in which time, he affixed his sign-manual to the well-known declaration, in assertion of his rights, addressed to all his loving subjects of England, and dominion of Wales.[2]

[1] See Trethewey's letter, p. 347.

[2] An admirable translation of this document — spirited, but yet literal—is given by Chevalier; but it is much too long for insertion here.

Rumours being at this time afloat, as we have seen, that the rebels, confident of success, were meditating an attempt to seize upon the persons of the royal brothers, it became imperative to take efficient measures for guarding against any sudden surprisal. Thanks to the exertions of the Jersey governor, Elizabeth Castle was well prepared to resist an attack or stand a siege, but the garrison of Castle Cornet was again in a deplorable condition.

This important frontier fortress had been sadly misgoverned by Sir Baldwin Wake, whose intemperance, and petulant opposition to Sir George Carteret, have already been noticed. On hearing of the revolt of the fleet he unceremoniously abandoned his command, and although he returned to it for a short time after obtaining his supply of indigo in the Downs,[1] he forsook it again, without leave, and had not been heard of since then; it was not known whether he was drowned, or what became of him. Sir Peter Osborne was still at

[1] We have the following voucher for his return to Castle Cornet, from Mr. Bentley's Collection :—

"Sir Baldwin Wake to Prince Rupert.

"May it please yo^r High.

"Accordinge unto yo^r order I doe here presente yo^r High with my saufe arryvall in this importante place; I would willingely have waited on yo^r High^s myselfe to have given your High^s an accounte of y^e state of the Castle & Island, and what I conceive is fitt to be done for the preservinge of the one, and the reducinge of the other, but necesiety forceth my staye here; I have therefore sent this officer to informe yo^r High: humbly takinge leave I am

"Castle Cornet
y^e 14. Sept 1648.
"For his Highnesse
Prince Rupert."

"Yo High: most humble and
faithfull servant
"BALDWIN WAKE.

St. Maloes, so that the garrison was without a commandant, without supplies, and labouring under scurvy, to a fearful extent, for want of fresh provisions and wholesome drink.

Such being the state of affairs on the king's coming to Jersey, Lord Percy, by the advice of the council, was appointed governor of the neglected Castle, and funds were, as we have already seen, placed at his disposal, with which, through the assistance of Sir George Carteret, relief was procured and sent over. His lordship, with the king's concurrence, nominated as his lieutenant-governor Colonel Burgess, who thereupon received the honour of knighthood; and on the evening of the 25th of October, took his departure for his seat of government, in a new shallop, deeply laden with provisions. In the course of the same night Sir Roger Burgess reached the castle in safety, and landed the provisions without hindrance, to the great joy of the half-famished garrison, who fired salutes and drank his health with the utmost satisfaction. On the 28th the shallop returned to Jersey, bringing over six men whose legs were much swollen, and even their faces grievously disfigured by the scurvy.[1]

Having provided for the pressing wants of Castle Cornet, his majesty expressed his intention of reviewing

[1] Sir Peter Osborne, now finally superseded, writes the following letter to Charles the Second: it is without date, but evidently referable to this period:—

"May it please your most Excellent Majesty,

"I have lately had notice from England that the small proportion that remains of my estate is to be sold, and no consideration out of it to be had either for my wife or children, if I come not to a composition for it. This, and the extreame wants I suffer in this place, with the little consideration hath been had of them (having received nothinge towards

his insular army; and accordingly, on Wednesday the 31st of October, every male inhabitant of Jersey, from the age of fifteen to seventy, capable of bearing arms, was mustered on the sands of St. Aubin's bay. The English regulars, in garrison, the native cavalry and infantry, carrying fire-arms, and the companies of artillery from the different parishes, amounted to not less than 2,700 men; in addition to which there were present on this memorable occasion an equal number of pikemen and recruits, the latter of whom bore no other weapons than iron-shod staves. Blank cartridge was served out to the musketeers and dragoons, whilst the cannoneers were provided with ball cartridges, as it was designed that they should try the range of their field pieces in firing at a target.

my maintenance since my being here, nor any part of that was promised mee at my retiring from Guernsey Castle) have at length driven mee to the necessity of thinking upon that which, of all thinges, I was the least inclined to, and to looke after that little that is left of my owne. But this I can now resolve on with greater satisfaction by how much I may seeme less usefull to your service; and, as by your Majesty's command I suspended the exercise of my government, so doe I still leave it in those hands where you were pleased I should commit it. Onely I beseech your Majesty in equity to consider the right I have in it, and for it what I have left; and that I may not suffer from both sides onely because I have beene honest. For be pleased S^r^ to give mee leave to say that, certainly, I have served your Majesty and yo^r^ Royal father with a sincere integrity, against which neither temptations, nor discouragements have prevailed; and have submitted to your will with that quiet obedience, that I have not at all considered my interests, nor hardly my honour, where that, that was called your service, was but said to be concerned. And after all, the chiefest request I have to make is, that God in his good time would restore your Majesty to your rights, and then I am certaine your goodnesse will consider mine; and, if in any thinge I have deserved your gracious regard, be pleased then to looke upon mee, and my children, and onely so much as your Majesty's owne justice and honour shall judge worthy the esteeme of" &c.—See Tupper, p. 225, from Osborne Papers.

At a certain hour the whole of the troops were drawn up in battle array, as if they had been in presence of an enemy, excepting that the small-arm men were merely furnished with powder. The infantry formed a sort of phalanx, six deep, musketeers in front and rear, pikemen and recruits between them;[1] muskets and pikes shouldered, no less than eighteen flags flying, and all the drums beating. At the right wing the dragoons were stationed with their three pennons, and at the left the cannoneers with their field-guns and ammunition waggons. Altogether, in Chevalier's estimation, a most imposing sight.

The troops being at length in position, a detachment of dragoons, forming a guard of honour, was despatched to the castle to give notice that all was ready. Under this escort the King, the Duke of York, both mounted on horseback, as well as their numerous staff of officers, were seen in a short time emerging from the gates of the castle and crossing the causeway. The king, however, no sooner reached the open beach than he was surrounded by a crowd of women, girls, and young boys, all struggling to approach near enough to their sovereign to touch the hem of his garments, or some part of his person. His majesty's progress was thereby much impeded, he being fearful of injuring his subjects, and having much difficulty in managing his fiery charger, who participated but little in the humane dispositions

[1] "When a regiment was drawn up for exercise, or a review," says Francis Grose, "the files were six deep; the ranks at open order; the companies posted according to their seniority, the eldest on the right, the next on the left, till the youngest came into the centre: the battalion was then formed by the musketteers facing to the right and left, outwards, and the pikes to the right and left inwards." This is a good test of the correctness of Chevalier's details as far as they go.

of his rider. Charles, nevertheless, rode on slowly and cautiously amid the throng, smiling upon the people, speaking to them with great condescension, and with the utmost affability exhorting them to beware of his horse's hoofs.

The royal generalissimo paused for a time before the martial array which stood before him, in order to take a general survey of its appearance. He then rode slowly along the lines, making the circuit of the brigade; the files facing outwards, and the colours so displayed as to form a front on all sides as he passed. "Il est à remarquer," says Chevalier, "comme le Roi passoit par devant les soldats, ils levoient leurs chapeaux en haut, criant, 'Vive le Roi!' et d'autres, 'Sauve le Roi!' et d'autres crioient, 'Dieu le mette sur son trone!' tellement que des cris de joie etoient faits par le peuple, comme sa Majesté passoit, et comme sus est dit, il y avoit 18 enseignes deployés, trois cornettes, seize tambours, et une trompette pour les Dragonniers, et les chevaux legers."

The king and his staff then took their station on the left wing of the brigade, which rested on the town of St. Helier's. The several battalions of musketeers now fired a volley, afterwards keeping up a running fire, whilst the cannoneers tried the range of their shotted guns to sea-ward. A general *feu-de-joie* concluded the review, whereupon the young monarch caused the regimental officers to be presented to him, touching his hat as each in succession knelt to kiss his hand; but when Colonel Philip Carteret, the commandant of the troops, approached, his majesty confirmed him in the rank and title he had conferred on him on a former occasion, and on the same spot, when Prince of Wales.

Night coming on, his majesty saluted the troops, and, escorted by his former guard of honour, returned to Elizabeth Castle. It had been intended to administer the oath of allegiance to the soldiers on this occasion, but, as it was past sunset before the inspection closed, the formality was postponed to a future day, and until then the officers dismissed their companies.

The embrasures of Elizabeth Castle have but little rest: they are again in an uproar on the 4th of November, firing a salute in honour of the birthday of the Princess Royal of England; and on the 5th, thundering forth a salvo in commemoration of the happy issue of Gunpowder Plot. Whilst the guns are thus employed, the following letter of news, relating to affairs in general, and Jersey in particular, is being written; this, and another from the same hand, have been lying *perdus* ever since among the "immaterial" Clarendon manuscripts.

"Mr. Trethewey to Mr. William Edgeman, at Madrid.

"Jersey, 4th November, 1649.

"My dear Brother,

"I dare not close up the letter now sent to your good lord (Sir Edward Hyde) without a returne of thanks for yours of Oct. 11th, which was your 2nd; and you may take notice that this is my 3rd, since wee parted at St. Germaine; though I have noe reason to boast, for what you want in number is made (up) with an over plus in weight, and so am still your debtor, as well in that particular as in a thousand wayes besides.

"Your friend Mr. Johnson,[1] though very much em-

[1] Gentleman-waiter to Charles the Second.

ployed in his cconomicks, yet hops verie shortly to borrow time to thank you for your letter; in the meane time you will believe that wee improve all good opportunitys to performe those ordinarie dutyes of drinking your health, &c.

"I cannot as yet say any thing particular concerninge your Quondam friend; I could never yet have the happines to see her; I heare she is in health, and that is all; her life, I doubt more melancholic, and retyred than it needed, or might have bin.[1]

"Wee have had here this last weeke a generall muster;—for numbers &c., such as you have seene when you were here; their volleys of great and small shott, gave the like report, and the King, and Duke were very well pleased with it. The number of the foote you know, the horse and dragoons somewhat increased, and truly the Islanders seeme to be still well affected, and to have more of resolution than many of our Courtyers.

"Upon Friday last arrived Shockey[2] from Prince

[1] We shall presently find out who this "melancholic" lady was.

[2] Choquée, or Choqueuse, a confidential servant of Prince Rupert's. Sir Edward Nicholas sends a letter to Prince Rupert, dated Jersey, 30° Nobris St. Vet 1649, by "this bearer Monsr. Choqueuse," a name strangely transformed by Trethewey into Shockey. The Frenchman, no doubt, rendered the Cornishman's cognomen equally unrecognisable. Monsr. Choqueuse is also the bearer of a letter from the King to the Marquis of Ormond, dated Jersey, 13th November, 1649, "desiring him to cause to be coyned such bullion as shall be delivered him by Prince Rupert, taken in any Prizes."

That Charles was still bent upon going to Ireland is evident from the following letter:—

"The King to Prince Rupert.

"Deare Cousin, "Jersey Novr 15 (1649.)

"I have receaved your letter by Choquée and Major Fontaine, and am so full of your oppinion concerning my goeing to Ireland that

Rupert whom he left at sea towards the Land's End of Cornwall, with six shipps, whereof 3 the best. It is about a moneth since Shockey came from Ireland bringing letters from the Marquis of Ormond of that date mentioning that Cromwell was then marching towards Wexford, and that M. Ormond was drawing out the next day towards him. But Shockey, staying for a wind about Kinsale, had news before he came thence that Wexford, both Castle and Towne were lost, and many put to the sword; though our letters from England (which have so often deceived us) seeme to assure the contrary, and that Cromwell, and M. Ormond had fought, and that Cromwell was worsted; and with great losse, and disorder was retired to Dublyn,—which I fear is too good to be true.

"Coll Burgess, the new Lieut. Governor of Garnsey Castle, was put in safe above a weeke since, and was very well received, and I hope there will be a good accompt given of that place.

"Here is Dr. Woolley from Silly, whoe says that all is well there; and that they have neare a moneths provisions before hand.

I am resolved to make little the (*illegible*) till I come thither. I shall therfore desire you to come to Brest, Rochelle, or Blauet, and as soone as you are there send an express to me; and as soone as I knowe that you are there I will, the same day, take boat to come to you. But if I can get the (frigates) that I hope, I shall (no) sooner (learn) that you shall be come to the place I have named I shall for the more speed goe in them, and will send express to you to lett you know I am gone; that I may hinder your (bisiness) as little as I can. Choquée will give you an account of all other businesses you trusted him with. I shall only tell you that I am, Dear Cousin

"For my deare Cousin Prince Rupert." "Your most affectionate Cousin "CHARLES R.

These letters have been kindly placed at our disposal by Mr. Bentley.

"Our remove is yet uncertaine; Mr. Henry Seymour went express to the Marquess of Ormond about a fortnight since. The certaine assurance of the condition of that kingdome, will, I believe, remove us, one way or other. Some say that Prince Rupert will be here with his fleet, but of this no certainty; if he were it might happily tend to the reducing of the Island of Garnesey, but whether it be convenient for him to come into this part of the sea, (so narrow and so dangerous, and so few ports to friend) this winter season, may be the question.

"I must desire you in spetiall manner to present my affectionate service to Mr. Clotterbooke, and excuse my not writing to him in particular; and truly I accompt one letter too greate a trouble to you both, unless I can find some better subject to procure its acceptance with you.

"I pray you likewise to present my humble service to Mr. Wandesford, to whom I shall write againe with the next oportunity.

"To all our good friends, with you, remember me, I pray you very respectively, and be sure to continue in your good favour

Your ever faithfull and affectionate Brother and Servant

J. T.[1]

"Your nephew, my brother &c. are still your humble servants."

[1] "By Pol, Tre, and Pen; you may know the Cornishmen." Mr. J. Trethewey held some office at Court; he appears to have married Edgeman's sister. Lewis Trethewey, probably the brother alluded to in the postscript, was one of the Duke of Gloucester's servants, at the Restoration. See Walker's Account of the Coronation, p. 14.

"Mr. Trethewey to Mr. William Edgeman.

"Jersey 12—22 November 1849

"Silly continues in a flourishing condition: they had four prizes brought in thither within these ten dayes; two of corn, one of coles, & another of sheepskins: you must give us leave to make the most of small matters, for want of greater.

"Garnsey Castle is indifferent well, Coll Burgess continues Lieut. Governor, and I believe will be relieved again very suddenly. Sir George Carterett is not well pleased that Lord Percy is the governor there,[1] which may happen to hinder the reducing of that island, which otherwise seemed to be feasible.

"Your friend Capt^n. Meade[2] hath this day his dispatches from the King, and is going with them to Sweaden. It is chiefly to satisfy that Queen of the unreasonableness of the Scots and to prevent any prejudice that may happen upon 280. 55. 80. 4. 23. 37. 181. 147. 5. 10. 57. 23. 227; which I hope will have a good effect.

"Our wants grow very much upon us here; the Governor does his part exceedingly well, and now, one of our last shifts, for money to buy bread, is the selling of a parcell of land worth 200£ per annum, part of the revenue here, which Lord Jermyn was gratiously pleased to 394 give way unto, it being (as you know) all comprehended in his (patent?)

"And now as for business of consequence you may take notice that the good-lady Carterett, lyes in of a young

[1] To us it appears probable that Sir George has all along been desirous of obtaining the government of that fortress, a supposition which will go far to account for his conduct to whatever governor was appointed to that command.

[2] Mentioned in Chevalier's list of military attendants on the king.

daughter, borne within these two dayes,—a son would have been much more welcome to that famely, wherein your quondam mistress accompts herselfe very happy, insomuch that it seemes to be the most part of her delight, for shee seldom comes abroade with other company.

"Your friend Mr. Johnson will shortly be at leasure to write unto you, being already discharged of a great part of his trouble, most of the Court tables being reduced, there remayning only a few dishes for the King and Duke, the reversion thereof assigned to a sett number of wayters; all the rest are at board wages, to be payed when you send us money,—and therefore looke to it, for wee shall be verie troublesome if wee heare not from you in time, and to the purpose.

"You have so many friends here that I know not which to name first; wee remember you often, and do you right with them as there is occasion. Doe the like, I pray, for me, with all our friends with you, and be sure to preserve me in the good favour of my worthy friend Mr. Clotterbooke, for if he take anything unkindly, I shall expect satisfaction at your hands.

"I intend to goe to the castle to-morrow, and then I will inquire after your chests, whereof you shall have account in my next. This is my fourth to you, however, I accompte myselfe still in arreare with you, and hope, by your often writing, you will continue to oblige yours &c. J. T."

Trethewey's former letter serves to confirm Chevalier's statements with regard to the militia muster, and other matters, whilst, on the other hand, certain passages in his second epistle, at first sight trivial and irrelevant, acquire interest, if not historical value, when interpreted by

entries in the Jersey Journal. For instance, the expedient for raising money "to buy bread" is thus explained.

The king about this time being driven to the necessity of providing for his own subsistence, and that of his followers, who had all been despoiled of their estates by the rebels, resolved, by the advice of his council, to dispose of and alienate two hundred quarters of perpetual wheat-rent escheated at various times through default of heirs, and other forfeitures, but not originally portions of the crown's hereditary possessions. On the 20th of November, accordingly, the proper officers in the parishes of St. Martin, St. John and Trinity, wherein the estates burthened with the said rents were situated, received instructions to give notice, that it was his majesty's pleasure to dispose of this portion of his revenue to the highest bidder.

When the day came for the transaction of this business there was no lack of purchasers. Many of those who owned parcels of the said rents, and could afford to redeem them, were glad to do so in order to release their estates; and other capitalists, encouraged by their example, purchased other parcels by way of investment; so that in a short time the whole of the two hundred quarters were disposed of at the rate of eighty five *écus* per quarter.[1]

[1] Supposing the *écu* to have been worth no more than half-a-crown, two thousand pounds sterling, at least, was realized by this transaction, which appears to reveal the history of the following document, found among the Clarendon Papers:—

"Thursday 29th November 1649.

"I doe acknowledge to have received from the right Hõnorable Robert Long Esq$_r$, principall secretary of state to His Majesty, seaven blancks acquittors signed by his Majestie: 3 for one hundred pounds a peece, and 4. for fifty pounds a peece, to bee sent into England to receive moneys upon for his Majesty's use, of which I engage myselfe to give his majesty an accompt. St. Hellaires in the Isle of Jersey the 29th of November 1649. EDW. WALKERS."

His majesty, by letters patent, sealed and authenticated under his great seal, had previously appointed six or eight gentlemen of his court to act as commissioners. So that when the rents were sold, a legal conveyance was made to the purchasers, ensuring them the enjoyment of the proceeds from Michaelmas day 1650, and furthermore securing to them the perpetual fruition of the same, without danger of being at any time called upon to restore the rents.

But we find, from a passage in the History of the Rebellion, that before this could be done, it was necessary to obtain the consent of my Lord Jermyn, who as governor of Jersey held a lien on this property, and it was not without reluctance, nor without receiving an equivalent by way of compensation, that he would consent to relinquish his claim.

"The Lord Jermyn, who, in those great straits the King was in, and the great plenty he himself enjoyed, was wonderfully jealous that the King's being there (in Jersey) would lessen some of the profit which he challenged from thence; and therefore, when it was found, in order to the King's support, whilst he should stay there, necessary to sell some of the King's demesnes in that island, the yearly rent whereof used to be received by that lord towards the discharge of the garrisons there, he insisted with all possible importunity, 'that some of the money, which should be raised upon that sale, should be paid to him, because his receipt, for the time to come, would not remain so great as it had been formerly:' and though this demand appeared so unjust and unreasonable, that the Council could not admit it, yet he did prevail with the King in private, to give him such a note under his hand, as enabled him to receive

a good sum of money, after the return of his majesty into England, upon that consideration."

The other passage illustrated by our chronicler relates to Lady Carteret's new-born daughter, the connecting link between whom and his majesty Charles the Second is rendered obvious by what follows.

On Saturday, the 25th of September, a daughter of Sir George Carteret's, born on the 9th instant, was baptized in the chapel at Elizabeth Castle; his majesty, having at Sir George's solicitation graciously condescended to name the infant, did the parents the great honour of attending in person at the ceremony. The female sponsors were Madam Wyndham, the king's nurse, and Lady Cornwallis,[1] wife of his majesty's treasurer. The latter dame took the child from Mademoiselle de Carteret,[2] sister of the lady-mother, held it at the font whilst the king gave the name, and the clergyman performed the baptismal rites, and then returned Miss Carolina to the arms of her affectionate, and no doubt delighted, aunt. Chevalier is at some pains to expound for the benefit of country gentlemen:

[1] Lady Cornwallis arrived in Jersey, from France, just one week before. Sir Frederick had gone thither to fetch her: with them came Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Edward Herbert, Sir Philip Mosgrove, Sir Bernard Gascoigne, and several other persons of distinction. This Sir Bernard, Chevalier thinks it necessary to inform us, was by birth an Italian, and had been knighted by Charles the First for his good services. He remained in Jersey but eighteen days, being thence despatched to his own country by the king, to solicit aid from some of the Italian princes. He is said to have suggested some English improvements in landscape gardening, according to the English fashion, to the Grand Duke of Florence, for his country house, called Poggio Achaiano. See, moreover, Evelyn's account of him, and Clarendon's, in the History of the Rebellion.

[2] We are much mistaken if this lady is not Edgeman's "quondam friend."—See Trethewey's letters, *ante*. p. 345.

"Le Roi ayant donné lui même le nom de Carolina, qui est un nom Latin, qui signifie en François Charlotte; Carolus en Latin et Charles en François; Linna qui est au feminin, signifie Lotte, qui est en François Charlotte."

This royal god-daughter is without doubt the lady whom Pepys mentions (but confounds with her elder sister Elizabeth) in his entry July 30th, 1668, "I find his (Sir G. Carteret's) little daughter Betty, that was in hanging sleeves but a month or two ago, and is a very little young child,[1] married, and to whom, but to young Scott, son of Madam Catherine Scott, that was so long in law, and at whose trial I was with her husband; he pleading that it was unlawfully got and would not own it; but it seems, a little before his death, he did own the child, and hath left him his estate not long since. So Sir G. Carteret hath struck up of a sudden a match with him for his little daughter. He hath about £2000 per annum; and it seems Sir G. C. hath by this means over-reached Sir H. Bennet, who did endeavour to get this gentleman for a sister of his. By this means hath married two daughters this year, both very well."[2]

The day after the christening, the members of his majesty's council, and the Jersey authorities, were thrown into a great state of alarm by information which led them to suspect that a conspiracy was on foot for betraying the island to the English rebels. This information was derived from a notorious rogue named

[1] Born November 9, 1649; married July 30, 1663, *ergo* barely 14 years of age.

[2] "The other daughter was Anne, wife of Sir Nicholas Staring, K.B." Pepys' Diary and Notes, vol. ii. p. 201. Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Sir G. Carteret, died unmarried.

Philibert Benoist, who, on being retaken after breaking prison, alleged that he had been enticed to a certain house in the parish of St. Lawrence, where several persons, assembled there, had offered him a considerable bribe to convey a letter from them, privately, into England. On being qnestioned further, he accused one John le Gallais, and several other Jerseymen, whom he named, of being the individuals who had sought to tempt him. This story was the more readily credited, as Le Gallais some time before had been imprisoned for keeping up a correspondence with his disaffected countrymen in London, but he had managed at that time to escape by the aid of a golden key.

On the 27th day of the current month the supposed conspirators were arrested, and although they denied the charge, and disclaimed all knowledge of their accuser, they were committed to Mont Orgueil for trial, and witnesses were summoned to give evidence as to their characters and general conduct. It was deemed the more necessary to keep these persons in prison and to investigate the affair thoroughly, in consequence of his majesty's having received intimation that certain suspicious characters might be expected to visit Jersey; and thither they accordingly arrived the day following the arrest of Le Gallais and his colleagues.

The persons denounced to the king were one Lieutenant Major Querto (*sic*) and another English officer who came from London by way of St. Malo. They were apprehended on board the vessel before they had time to disembark; their persons and luggage were carefully searched, and, although no letters or papers tending to incriminate them were discovered, they were imprisoned in Elizabeth Castle as traitors and spies.

They strenuously disclaimed any such treacherous intentions, declaring that they had merely come to Jersey, hearing the king was there, to offer his majesty their best services; but more was known about them than they imagined.

Querto had formerly served in the royal army; his wife had been chosen to nurse the Queen of England's infant, born at Exeter, and had accompanied her majesty in her flight into France, leaving the husband in Exeter. On the surrender of that city he had gone to London, where he chiefly resided, but he had lately visited Scilly; and there he had confessed to Sir John Grenville that it was his intention to return to London, hoping to obtain a large sum from the rebels, under the pretext of delivering the Scillies into their hands; and then decamp with the money thus fraudulently obtained. The parliament listened with great complacency to his proposal. promised him two thousand pounds the moment they were put in possession of the islands, and gave him thirty pounds by way of present recompense. Finding that he could not swindle them out of more, he pocketed his thirty pounds, escaped into France, and from thence found his way to Jersey.[1]

[1] Although the account of this affair rests solely on the *ipse dixit* of Chevalier, his accuracy is too well established to cause his veracity to be called in question. Besides, the following passage from Carte's Life of Ormond, although it does not relate to Querto's business, indicates that conspiracies for the betrayal of Scilly actually existed about this time. The bishops in Ireland having prevailed upon the Lord Lieutenant to remove all the English out of the army and kingdom, "a party of them were sent with Colonel Butler to Scilly, which had lately been in danger of being lost, through the treachery of the Irish regiment there in garrison. The officers had engaged in a conspiracy by a solemn oath taken at mass to murder Sir John Grenville, the governor, to seize the place, and deliver it to the English rebels, who had ships that lay hovering thereabouts at the time this treachery

Whether Querto in reality meditated any mischievous design it was impossible to determine: at all events, his coming to Jersey at a conjuncture when there was some reason to suspect that treachery might be lurking in the island, induced the lords and gentlemen about the court to suspect some connexion between him and Le Gallais' party; and the strictest precautions were taken for the preservation of his majesty from falling into an ambuscade. Hitherto the King and the Duke of York had been constantly in the habit of roaming about the country with their guns in quest of wild fowls, slenderly attended by their gentlemen and a few footmen; but now and for some time after, it was not deemed safe for the royal brothers to quit the precincts of Elizabeth Castle without a sufficient mounted body-guard.

The persons accused by Philibert Benoist were, after repeated examinations, released; for, although this worthless rogue and thief persisted in his original declaration,[1] he in many other statements contradicted himself; and no further evidence could be adduced

was to have been executed. But it being luckily discovered two or three days before, the officers were seized, and all of them condemned by a Council of War; one of the number was put to death, and the rest sent to Jersey to the Duke of York."

[1] Benoist, fearful of being severely punished for the false accusations he had brought against innocent persons, again attempted to escape, but breaking his thigh as he was scaling the walls of Mont Orgueil, he was recaptured. The operation for reducing the fracture being deemed, according to the temper of the times, a favourable opportunity for extorting a confession, the question was repeatedly put to him whilst he was under the hands of the chirurgeon. But although the torture he endured must have been intense, he obstinately adhered to what he had stated in the first instance. He for some time after his recovery pretended to walk with difficulty; one night, however, he cast aside his crutches unperceived, let himself down from the ramparts, made his escape out of the island, and never more was heard of.

against the supposed conspirators. "Il est toutefois vraisemblable," says Chevalier, "qu'il n'y avoit personne des habitans de l'Isle qui attentât à la personne de sa Majesté; mais, au contraire, souhaitoient sa prosperité comme on pouvait l'estimer, ayant été tous en général bien consternés de la mort du Roi, son père."

On Sunday, the 2d of December, the packet-boat from Cotainville brought over despatches from Sir John Grenville, which enclosed a letter he had received from the Governor of Kinsale, announcing to him that Cromwell's army had been signally defeated, with the loss of much ordnance and baggage, by the Marquis of Ormond, near Wexford. Just as Sir John was closing his despatches another messenger came to him confirming the rumour, which induces him to add, by way of postscript that he is inclined to believe the reported defeat of the rebels in Ireland. Grenville, however, having been prevented for some time by contrary winds from sending his despatches direct to Jersey, transmitted them through France, so that they were upwards of a month or six weeks old when they reached the king's hands.[1]

The following day his majesty assembled his council

[1] A couple of days after the receipt of these despatches the subjoined was written :—

"The King to Prince Rupert.

"Jersey Dec 4th (1649)

"Dear Cousin

"I have dispatched this bearer —— to you, and have given him full instructions concerning my going into Ireland. The way of it —— I shall only desire you to give credit to him, and to make all the expedition you can in it; for nothing concerns me more than that I should goe there as soon as I can. I have dispatched Choquée a week agoe, and he will give you an answer of all those things you trusted him with. I received last night newes from Ireland that my Lo. of Ormond had raised the siege of Duncannon, and had fought with Cromwell; and that Cromwell was retreated to Wexford in great

at Elizabeth Castle to deliberate on the contents of these state despatches from the Governors of Kinsale and Scilly. But we have seen by Trethewey's letter of the 4th ultimo, that the news of Cromwell's discomfiture had already reached Jersey, where it was considered too good to be true, and that Shockey had already announced the fall of Wexford, both castle and town. The majority of the council, therefore, opposed his majesty's hazarding his person by going into Ireland, whilst others, joined by many gentlemen of his suite, urged him to go thither immediately, as the only way of enabling him to recover his kingdom. These latter offered to accompany him one and all; declaring that they were ready to encounter every hazard and spill their last drop of blood if he would but lead them into action; but that if he decided on remaining inert, they had no choice but to seek their fortunes elsewhere. The more prudent advisers, however, prevailed, and it was settled that his majesty should remain in Jersey, at least until the return of his envoy, Mr. Seymour.

"Le Jeudi, sixième jour de Decembre," continues Chevalier, "arriva en Jersey Milord Liberthon, Commissaire du Parlement et du Clergé d'Ecosse; lequel vint apporter des lettres au Roi Charles 2nd, étant pour lors à Jersey. Milord Liberthon étoit accompagné de son fils et de sept autres, tant gentilshommes que serviteurs. Les lettres furent delivrés au Roi, tant de la

disorder, and that for certaine O'Neale was joined with my L. of Ormond, and was at this business. This comes in a letter from the Governor of Kinsale to Sr John Grenvill, and he sent it to me.

"I am, Dear Cousin

"your most affectionate Cousin

"CHARLES R."*

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

part du Parlement d'Ecosse que du Clergé du même lieu, pour traiter la paix entre iceux ; et le maintient de leur religion Protestante, et autres articles qu'ils demandoient au Roi, et qu'il eut à prendre le Couvenant,— auxquels articles le Roi ne pouvoit accorder qu'à une partie. Les Ecossais lui promettoient que s'il acquiesçoit aux dits articles, à lui envoyéz par leurs Commissaires, qu'il pouvoit se rendre en Ecosse, et qu'ils le couronneroient Roi de ce Royaume, lui promettant toute l'aide et l'assistance possible pour le recouvrement de son Royaume d'Angleterre, pour le remettre et rétablir sur son trône. Les dits commissaires portoient le deuil de la mort du Roi défunt, excepté Mons^r. Jacques Liberthon, fils de Milord, qui avoit un habit gris."

There came over in the same vessel with the laird of Liberton and the Commissioners, Colonel Leighton, whom they had encountered on their journey, bringing over letters to his majesty from the Duke of Lorraine ; there also came Colonel Graves, Major Oude, and Captain Titus,[1] deputies sent over from Holland by the English Presbyterians residing there. The two latter gentlemen associated with the Scotch Commissioners, and remained with them till their final departure, at the conclusion of the treaty ; but Colonel Graves, after remaining a few weeks in Jersey, was sent back to Holland with despatches.

In the meantime the council met to deliberate, and the King, with a large portion of the lords, knights, and

[1] Colonel Richard Graves, and Captain Silas Titus, the latter of whom appears to have been entrusted "with an address received by King Charles the Second when resident in Jersey, from the English party;" and it was probably Colonel Graves who carried back his Majesty's answer: "Given at our Court in Jersey the $\frac{2}{12}$th day of January 1649-50, in the first year of our reign." See Mr. Hillier's Narrative of Charles the First, p. 322.

gentlemen, were for accepting the Scotch proposition; but other lords, who mistrusted the Scots ever since their betrayal of his late Majesty for lucre, were opposed to them, and strenuously in favour of Ireland.[1] Among the latter were the King's own chaplains, who hated the Scotch and the English Presbyterians for discountenancing their church ceremonies and their service book.[2] At the first sitting of the council the Scottish party appeared likely to prevail, in consequence of an admirable address delivered to them by "Milord Liberthon," who afterwards retired with his majesty in private, remained in discourse with him for above an hour, and after explaining to him the purport of the letters of which he was the bearer, induced the king to admit that he had no objection to going into Scotland if the

[1] "Ensuit les noms des lords qui étoient d'avis que le Roi allât en Ecosse: Milord Comte de Cleveland, Milord Wentworth, Milord Wilmot, Milord Percy; et la plus part des chevaliers et gentilshommes étoient de cette opinion. Ensuit les noms de ceux qui étoient du contraire: Milord Keeper (garde du Grand Sçeau); Milord Hopton; Milord Byron; Milord Gerrard; et Monsr. Nicholas, secretaire du Roi défunt."

[2] Our narrator, strongly imbued with Genevan leaven, observes, in relation to the chaplains: "Ils n'avoient aucun envie d'aller en Ecosse, craignant la réformation de l'Eglise Anglicane, et du service Divin, des cerémonies, et redites dans les Liturgie Anglicane, l'abolition des Evêques, lesquels avoient une partie des revenus d'Angleterre; vivant splendidement, comme de Princes, et même quelques uns d'eux ont presqu'autant de revenu que le Roi, et ne prêchent que rarement; et aussi l'abolition de la jurisdiction des Doyens. Voila ce que les Ecossois demandoient à sa Majesté, et que l'Eglise fut reformé des abus qui y étoient, et qu'elle fût gouvernée à la façon des Eglises réformées de France, come étoit l'Ecosse gouverné, n'ayant pas voulu accepter en leurs Eglises les cérémonies et redites contenue dans ce livre-la, inventées par les traditions des hommes, ce livre ayant succedé à la messe. Cependant dans le dit livre on peut faire choix de quelques excellentes prières, et la lecture de ce qui est contenu dans l'Ecriture Sainte. Mais les avants dits chapelains aimoient mieux que le Roi allât en Irlande vers les Papistes, qu'en Ecosse, vers les protestans."

members of his council were all of the same opinion. Before this unanimity, however, could be brought about, it was necessary to discuss the contents of various long letters, and accordingly the council sat day after day; but their deliberations were conducted with so much secrecy that it was impossible for our inquisitive annalist[1] to obtain even back-stairs information. Some passages in a letter from Lord Byron luckily supply the deficiency.

"Not long before his (Mr. Seymour's) return," writes his lordship,[2] "one Windram was sent from Scotland, with commission to offer the King a solemn address from that Kingdom, of persons authorised to treat and conclude a treaty with him, of course for his restoration in England, and punishment of his father's murderers; in case he would acknowledge this present convention to be a parliament: which at the Hague he had refused to do.

"Hereupon the King, finding the council he had here (which consisted but of three persons, my lord Hopton, and the two secretaries, Nicholas & Long) to be too few to consult upon so weighty a business, thought fit to call all the Peers here present to the consultation; which were the Earl of Cleveland, Lord Wentworth, Lord Wilmot, Lord Percy, Lord Gerrard, and myself.

[1] He, however, contrives to procure copies of the voluminous State Papers relating to these transactions, several of which he translates with marvellous acumen; but when he comes to the address of the "ministers of the Kirk of Scotland to the King," his courage and strength fail him, and he pathetically exclaims: "mais elle etoit trop longue et ennuyeuse à copier pour un vieillard âgé de quatre vingt trois ans et cinq mois. La dite lettre est écrite sur trois feuilles de papier, c'est à dire douze pages." Its bare perusal in the third volume of the State Papers is sufficiently tedious.

[2] Lord Byron to Major General Daniel O'Neil.—Carte's Collection, vol. i. p. 338.

It was generally thought fit, that the king should treat with the Scots: the only question was, whether he should treat with them as a parliament, without which appellation they would not be treated withal.

"Many reasons were alledged, *pro & contra*;—on the one side, what dishonour and prejudice would follow upon the king's allowing that to be a parliament, which was not called by his authority, and presumed to sit after his father's death, and did still proceed so vigorously against his party;—on the other side it was urged, that the calling this a parliament on the back side of a letter, did not really and legally make it one; and that real advantages were not to be lost for airy words and titles: that both the King of Spain and other Princes had no difficulty to give their rebellious subjects any titles they would demand, when they were grown too powerful to be punished by them, and when they had no other means left to reap advantages from them.

"For my own part, I was all the time a neuter, and resolved not to give my conclusive opinion till I knew the true state of Ireland, and what advice the King should receive from thence."

Chevalier's intelligence again becomes available; "entretems," says he, "le messager vint d'Irlande avec des lettres qui annoncaient que la Ville de Galway s'étoit rendue à Cromwell, et qu'il avoit ses garnisons dans quatre ou cinq villes maritimes (de Munster), les Gouverneurs desquelles avoient été corrompus par l'argent; la chose étant parvenue à un tel dégré d'iniquité, qu'on se rangeoit par la porte dorée, et à la force, le droit et l'equité n'ayant plus de lieu;[1] or après la ecture des

[1] How will this account agree with Ormond's "Cromwell is risen from before this city (Waterford) and marched into Corke; where and in

lettres de la part du Comte d'Ormont, ils considérent qu'il n'y avoit plus d'apparence ni espérance d'y pouvoir aller. La cour seyoit tous les jours, et les opinions divisées, mais enfin the 28e et le 29e Decembre, la conclusion fut arrêtée que le Roi iroit traiter avec les Ecossois à une ville appelée Bréda, appartenant à la Hollande, par la conquête qu'en avoit fait le Prince d'Orange sur les Espagnols, et par consequent elle lui appartenoit. Or c'étoit en cette ville que le Roi traiteroit avec les Ecossois, sur les articles par eux demandés, et par les Presbyteriens d'Angleterre; le Roi esperant plus en faire par raison avec eux, qu'il n'avoit pu faire par armes."

Let us again refer to Byron's already quoted letter;—he tells O'Neil that, "after a most dangerous passage, Mr. Seymour arrived; by whose discourse, as well as by the letters I received both from yourself and others, I was fixed in the opinion which before I wavered in; which was, that the King in the dangerous condition he was in, should not stick at words to obtain a treaty with the Scots, and provided he could retrieve to himself the superintendency of his affairs in England and Ireland, to condescend to anything that concerned Scotland. The Scotch commissioner was likewise content to accept of the title of Committee of Estates, instead of that of Parliament; which though the same thing in effect, yet avoids the odiousness of the word parliament. Thus, the matter being carried by the plurality of votes, both time and place were appointed for the treaty, which is to be Breda the 15th of March.

Youghall, Dungarvan, Kinsale, Bandon, and other places, (all betrayed to him without one stroke struck) he intends to garrison the greatest part of his army for this winter."—Letter to the King, dated Waterford, Dec. 15, 1649.—Carte, vol. i. p. 417.

"I must not omit, that during this debate, the king expressed such moderation, patience and judgement, as was admirable in a person of his years, and such truly as I little expected from him; repressing, by his excellent temper, those heats and animosities amongst us, which otherwise would utterly have destroyed the business; and certainly it is one of the greatest curses God hath laid upon his subjects, that they are so long deprived of the knowledge, and fruits of his virtue and goodness; which I never knew more eminent in any young man."

Part of the high character bestowed upon Charles by Byron is no doubt deserved; indeed, it must have required no small share of that good-humoured tact for which in after years he was celebrated, to keep all smooth between the hot-headed Irish and Scotch factions, and to soothe the mutual animosities arising between the rest of his followers, who now amounted to little short of 500 persons. During this last month of the year 1649, the island was kept in a state of constant bustle owing to the daily arrival of royalists, coming to feed upon him, under pretext of offering their services, and the departure of messengers despatched to foreign courts. For the king "had ambassadors with the Emperour, the Grand Duke of Muscovia, the state of Venice, the Grand Turk, and with the King of Spain."[1]

About this time many distinguished foreigners, with large trains of officers and domestics, came to the court at Elizabeth Castle, with despatches from their several masters. Among others, came an envoy from certain Princes of Hungary, well disposed towards the king, with offers to raise troops for his service, and to land

[1] Whitelocke.

them in any part of England or Scotland he might choose to indicate. Whether the king and the council entertained other views, or whether they apprehended that the landing of foreigners might prejudice his cause, it is impossible to say. At all events, the Hungarian envoy was dismissed with thanks, but the offer was declined. Another ambassador likewise arrived in Jersey at this period, sent over by one of the German princes, allied by marriage with the royal family of England. This prince made proposals to fit out, at his own charges, four men-of-war, the smallest mounting forty pieces of cannon, and each to carry, besides a full complement of mariners, not less than 120 soldiers. Both ships and men the prince engaged to maintain free of cost, until Charles was seated on his throne; and furthermore, if this proposal was not acceptable, the same generous prince offered a subsidy amounting to not less than a million of crowns, to enable his majesty to raise forces sufficient to regain his kingdom. And as all true christians, princes as well as prelates, are bound to assist royalty in distress; numbers of other potentates made similar proposals to King Charles.[1]

[1] These somewhat confused statements relate no doubt to the aid afforded the Marquis of Montrose in Denmark; the Duke of Courland's noble contribution of six great ships laden with corn; and the good intentions expressed towards Charles by all the Princes of the empire. On these subjects Sir E. Nicholas writes the following short note to the Marquis of Ormond:—

"I pray be pleased to decypher this yourself.

"All the King's hopes of assistance are, as I am informed,

"1st From the M. of Montrose's endeavours in Denmark, Germany and other parts thereabouts; where (it's said) he will raise 3000 men, and these (it's hoped) are in good forwardness.

"2nd The King of Poland hath promised to send the King 4000 men at his own charge to any place: but in this I have no great belief.

"3rd The

1650.

Charles's slumbers were early disturbed on the 1st of January, 1650; the Duke of York was next aroused, and then Sir George Carteret, by firing of guns, beating of drums, and fanfare of trumpets; all in honour of the presence of the King, and in celebration of New Year's day, a circumstance, by the way, which proves that although in correspondence and legal documents *stylus veteris* was preserved, in actual practice new style was adopted. At break of day, from the upper ward of Elizabeth Castle, where his majesty dwelt, a royal salute of ordnance was discharged by the cannoneers; another in succession from the batteries of the lower ward, where the duke was, in occupation of the house built by the absent chancellor of the exchequer; a third salvo deafened the ears of the governor from the embrasures of Charles's fort, he lodging near the Duke of York, having ceded his official residence to the royal guest, who occupied it all the time he was in Jersey. The roar of artillery had scarcely ceased to re-echo among the rocks, than the musketeers assembled on the parade field, fired a *feu-de-joie*, and then came *largesse*, in the shape of New Year's gifts, to reward the obstreperous loyalty of the Castle garrison, which, it must

"3rd The Emperor of Muscovy (it's hoped) will supply the king with about 8000*l.* which not long since was lent him by the King's means.

"4th There is likewise hopes, that the King of Spain will lend his Majesty a good sum of money.

"5th From France there is nothing to be expected.

"6th From Holland, all is rather against than for the King.

"7th The Queen of Sweden hath furnished the King with 10,000 arms, and munition proportionable: whereof one half is assigned to the M. of Montrose, the other is designed for Ireland; but these are engaged for above 1000*l.*" Carte's Collection, vol. i. pp. 347—358.

be observed, consisted of English and Irish soldiers. The king bestowed on them ten pounds, the Duke of York five, Sir George Carteret four pieces-of-eight, which being distributed among the soldiery, yielded each man forty sous, expended doubtless ere midnight in rollicking, roystering, and singing cavalier songs in chorus.

In a few days there came to Jersey a royal messenger from France, wearing a silver medal in token of his office, over a black doublet. He brought over despatches for the King from his mother, and letters for the courtiers from the lords at St. Germain's, and soon after he returned to France with replies, being well paid for the conveyance of the same.

On Saturday the 12th of the month, a small frigate, called the Cornelia, arrived from Waterford, having touched at Scilly on her voyage. She only mounted six guns, with five of which on anchoring she saluted the king, the castle returning the compliment with three guns; Captain Anthonio, a Fleming, commanded her, and brought over huge packets of despatches for his majesty from the Marquis of Ormond, and Lord Inchiquin ("Deschikins"), generals of the royal armies in Ireland.[1] The frigate contained not less than 120 persons, including sailors and soldiers. Among the passengers were several valiant cavaliers, who had served in the wars in Ireland, and a great number of women, many of them ladies of

[1] "La Corneille n'étoit point jamais venu à Jersey, qui étoit la place la plus unie, et la plus fidèle pour sa Majesté, et auquel lieu le Roi mettoit plus de confiance pour la garde et sureté de sa personne, qu'en aucun autre lieu de tous ses Royaumes et Dominions. Cette pauvre petite île loyale mérite d'être à jamais en memoire et rénommée de toutes nations, tant étrangeres que foraines, laquelle a eu l'honneur et la gloire de servir d'asyle à son Prince, dans ce tems de calamités, auxquels nos pechés nous ont plongés."—Chevalier.

quality, who had been obliged to fly from their native country, in consequence of the maritime towns having been treacherously betrayed to Cromwell.

The arrival of this frigate does not rest on Chevalier's testimony alone; it is confirmed by Sir Edward Nicholas: "Since Mr. Seymour's arrival," he writes to the Marquis of Ormond, "we have not received any letters or advertisements from Ireland, but only what one Mr. Rochford and Captain Anthonio, a merchant of Flanders, (who arrived here about a month since from Waterford)[1] have told us. —— Mr. Philip Roche can very particularly acquaint your Lordship with Rochford's and Anthonio's business, having had great discourse and conversation with them while they were here." The King also writes to the Marquis: "here are lately come from Ireland one St. Johns, a priest; and one Rochfort, who brought me a letter from O'Farrell; but what they will demand in particulars from me, I do not yet know; but, coming with no authority from you, I assure you I will agree to nothing, but give them general promises, and send them to you for all things they are to expect from me."[2] Rochford's and Anthonio's business was to make "larger demands upon the king in point of religion, and for those of the old Irish, than Owen O'Neile had agreed upon; —— alledging, that unless they might have larger condescensions, that party of the Irish would not be satisfied." This gallant agent, Rochford, who was a sly, factious fellow, took his departure for Flanders, on a sudden, without delivering his letters of credence, saying he

[1] The letter is dated Jersey, Feb. 11-21, 1649-50.—See Carte's Collection, vol. i. p. 340.

[2] Jorsey, Jan. 16, Ibid. vol. ii. p. 424.

intended to wait upon the king as he passed through Flanders. We learn further that the Marquis of Antrim, "having failed of engaging the clergy openly to demand the Marquis of Ormond's removal from the government, sent over his little agents, one St. John, a priest, and Rochfort the lawyer; with Captain Anthonio in his Frigat to Jersey, to represent that step as necessary, and to suggest that Antrim was the fittest person for the government."[1]

Lord Byron also notifies to the Marquis: "Here have been great practices of late by them of P. Rupert's party to the king, to recall your commission and confer it upon P. Rupert, or the M. of Antrim; but all in vain, his Majesty being resolved (as he himself was pleased to tell me) rather to lose Ireland than to preserve it by doing you an affront. Capt. Roche, and one Rochfort, a lawyer, who lately came hither in Capt. Anthonio's frigate,[2] are both of that faction, and for that reason much disliked by the King.[3]"

About the same time the father confessor of the Queen of Portugal came over to confer with Charles II. on matters of great secrecy and importance. He was an Irishman by birth, but had resided some years in Portugal, where he had founded a couple of monasteries; he remained in Jersey no longer than ten or

[1] Carte's Life of Ormond, vol. ii.

[2] Don Anthonio, as he is called by Daniel O'Neile, brings a prize captured by "his frigat," into Kilkenny, as early as May 1644. (Carte's Life of Ormond, vol. iii. p. 308.) In the summer of 1648, Anthonio, Rochfort, and one Dr. Enos, are Antrim's chief agents; "endeavouring to debauch the soldiers of Duncannon, and the inhabitants of Wexford, Rosse and Waterford." (Ibid. vol. ii. p. 100.) In 1654 Anthonio is better known than trusted by Sir Richard Browne. Evelyn's Diary, vol. iv. pp. 289—292.

[3] From Jersey, Feb. 4, 1650.—Carte's Collection, vol. i. p. 334.

twelve days, being in haste to proceed to Ireland, from whence he intended to return to his adopted country by way of Italy, visiting Venice and Rome in the course of his journey; he never stayed long in any place, and was accompanied by only one servant.

On the 26th of January he quitted Jersey in Captain Anthonio's frigate, and we find out who he was, and what was the nature of his mission to Jersey, from the following extracts. Sir Edward Nicholas writes: "There hath been here lately one Father Daly, an Irish priest, who hath lived long in Portugal, and is the Queen of Portugal's confessor, that professes a great desire to moderate the Irish who are of O'Neile's party, in such their demands; and to use his best endeavours to bring, and fix them to his Majesty." Lord Byron also says: "This bearer, Father Daly, otherwise called Domingo del Rosorio, hath been recommended to his Majesty from the King of Portugal, as a person both able and willing to do him service in Ireland. And to that end undertakes this journey in company with Capt. Roche, who arrived here shortly after Mr. Seymour's departure."[1]

In the King's letter of the 16th of January, already quoted, he tells my lord of Ormond: "You will perceive by my publick letter, that I have resolved of a treaty with my subjects of Scotland, whereunto I was principally induced by that relation which Harry Seymour made to me from you, of the state of things in Ireland; and do believe that an agreement with them (if it may be had upon honourable and just terms) will be the likeliest means to make a speedy and powerful

[1] Carte's Collection, vol. i. pp. 333, 341.

diversion in England."[1] We find from Chevalier that the Scotch commissioner, the English presbyterian deputies, and their trains, quitted Jersey for Normandy on Sunday the 13th of January, "Milord Liberthon" going to Calais, where a frigate of twenty guns was in attendance upon him to convey him back to Scotland, preparatory to his appearance at Breda.

On Friday, the 18th of the current month, no less illustrious a personage than the brilliant Duke of Buckingham, the only personal friend allowed to accompany Charles to Scotland, landed from the Normandy packet-boat in Jersey. He appears to have made a favourable impression on the old chronicler, who tells us that the duke was a handsome young man, of lofty stature, dressed in black, wearing the silver star on the left breast, the purple garter round the left leg, and in all respects habited like the king and his brother of York, excepting that he wore no purple scarf across his shoulders, as they did.

Buckingham was accompanied by a large train of noblemen and attendants; and on the same day there came over from St. Maloes four other gentlemen, and six servants. They were sent by the queen-mother to hasten her son's departure, to escort him into Holland; and to request, "that in his passage thither the King would appoint some place where her Majesty might meet him; that they might spend some days together in consultation upon what might concern them jointly."[2]

The next and the following days, numerous boats were busily employed in transporting horses, and heavy baggage belonging to the king and his train, from Mont

[1] Ibid. vol. i. p. 423. [2] History of the Rebellion.

Orgueil to Cotainville. And on the 21st, many noblemen and gentlemen went thither likewise. Among them was Lord Percy, despatched with instructions to apprise the queen-mother that it was his majesty's intention speedily to commence his journey; his Lordship was further instructed, after his audience with the queen at St. Germain's, to proceed at once to Holland to inform the Prince of Orange that his majesty might soon be expected, and to make preparations at Breda for his reception. Lord Percy, we are told, was the richest of all the lords attached to the king's suite in Jersey, his revenues not having been sequestered by the rebels, owing to the influence of his brother, ("Milord Tombrellan,"[1]) the Earl of Northumberland, who enjoyed great credit with the parliament, and was lord of three shires.

The following letter, discovered among the additional MSS. in the British Museum, belongs to this period of our narrative, and shows how fearful Charles was of the Hamiltonian faction and its importunities.

"Charles II. to William Duke of Hamilton.

Jersey, 24th of January, 1649-50.

"My lord Hamilton

"I am very sorry that I could not have your advice in my late proceedings with Mr. Winram, who is now

[1] Without collateral evidence it is difficult to identify Milord Tombrellan, milord Dinchsequins or Deschiliens, Sir Memet Duc Landalle, Sir Joseph Ouasque Setaf, Capitaine Testis, Monsieur Tinchefs, and others; with the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Inchiquin, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Joseph Wagstaff, Captain Titus, and Mr. Fanshawe. Chevalier's orthography, with respect to English names, reminds us of the foreigner who addressed a lately deceased President of the Royal Society as "Sromfridevi."

returned with my letters, the copies whereof I send you herewith; but the treaty being appointed so near you at Breda, I shall desire your presence at it, and shall much depend upon your advice, assuring you, that I will take care of your interests, and of all of those honest men that engage with your brother, equally with that which concerns myself. I hope the calling them a *Committee of Estates*, with such cautions as I use in the letter, will bring no prejudice to you nor to your friends, and I will be careful to establish your interest by the treaty without which, I conceive, I cannot have much assurance. I pray, use your best endeavours to your friends in Scotland, to make their demands moderate and reasonable; and then I shall not doubt of a good issue, and such as may enable me to express how much I am

"Your very affectionate friend
and Cousin,
"CHARLES R."

On Wednesday, the 30th of January, by his majesty's express command, a solemn fast was observed throughout the island, in pious commemoration of his father's cruel execution; on which day the inhabitants abstained from food, and refrained from manual labour until five o'clock in the afternoon. Prayers were offered up in all the churches, imploring the Almighty to have compassion on the king and his loyal subjects, to restore him to his throne, and incline the hearts of his rebellious people to re-establish him in his just rights. "La chaise, le pupitre, et la table dans le temple de St. Hellier etoient couverts de noir. Le ministre prit son texte au second Livre des Chroniques, chapitre 35e à la fin du verset 23e:—

'Tout le peuple d'Israel et de Juda firent des lamentations sur Josias.' Le ministre, entr'autre chose, monstra de quelle manière, et par quel autorité on avoit procedé à juger le Roi à la mort, par une Chambre des Communes d'une nouvelle invention, ayant mis à bas et aboli la Chambre Haute composée des Seigneurs spirituels et temporels, et cetera."

The following day Charles writes to Prince Rupert, from which, and from his letter to Hamilton, it is evident that he considered the treaty he had been driven into with the Scotch commissioners was an unpopular measure, very likely to be resented by many of his friends. He therefore does all he can to mitigate their indignation by seeking to demonstrate that he has no other prospect of recovering his crown, and by promising at all times to be mindful of their claims and interests.

"The King to Prince Rupert.[1]

"CHARLES R.

"Right deare and most entirely beloved cousin, wee greete you well. Having received a late addresse from our subjects of Scotland, wee have resolved upon a new treaty with them at Breda in March next. But because you may not apprehend, that either in that treaty, or upon any other occasion whatsoever, wee shall consent to anything that shall, in the least degree, diminish that power and authority wee have given you in the Command of our Fleete, or that value & esteeme wee have of yo^r person, Wee think fitt by these to assure you, that wee will not only have a due regard to yo^r honor & interests in all our proceedings, but also

[1] From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

take that care of our Navy under yo^r Command, and of all the officers and mariners of the same, that they shall have all just encouragement to continue their loyalty in our service, and their cheerful obedience to you. And herewith Wee bid you heartily farewell. Given at o^r Court in Jersey the 31st day of January 1649-50 in the second yeare of our Reigne.

"To our right deare and most
entirely beloved Cousin
Prince Rupert."

His majesty having resolved upon leaving Jersey within a fortnight, sent the Duke of Buckingham into France on the 2d of February, to inform the queen-mother that he would meet her at Rouen on his passage to Holland. The officers and servants, who usually preceded the king, went also by the same vessel to Cotainville to make arrangements for his journey, taking with them for that purpose ten of his horses, his coach, and the tilted waggon containing his clothes, which, under the charge of proper attendants, was invariably sent forwards whenever his majesty travelled any distance. Throughout the ensuing week, boats were continually employed in conveying the inferior servants and other retainers of both sexes and all ages, together with their effects, to St. Maloes, from whence all was prepared for their transportation by sea to Holland. Fifty horses were also purchased in Jersey, and sent to France, for the use of the king's personal followers in their overland journey to Breda, which, it was calculated, would occupy little less time than a fortnight or three weeks.

On Wednesday, the 13-23 of February, all things

being prepared, and the weather proving favourable, King Charles embarked from Elizabeth Castle on board of Captain Amy's frigate, which was lying to in the roadstead, in readiness to put to sea. No flag fluttered in the breeze, no cannon, not even a musket was fired on this occasion, either by the fortress or the frigates: the occasion being no subject for rejoicing. The islanders, nevertheless, were by no means so dejected or disheartened as in the summer of 1646;—not that their loyalty had in any degree abated, but they now viewed the king's departure as the precursor of better times; hoping, and praying earnestly that, by the aid of the Almighty, his treaty with the Scots would lead to his speedy restoration, and the re-establishment of peace throughout his realms.

The Duke of York, attended by Sir George, waited upon his majesty on board, and on the deck the royal brothers, with tears in their eyes, took leave, embracing each other three times. The duke and the governor returned in their boat to the castle, and Amy's frigate, with its precious freight, got under weigh and set sail for the coast of Normandy, with a light breeze from the south-west. Captain Bowden, and numbers of the island gentry, went over to France with the king, determined not to quit him till they saw him landed in safety. A large row-boat preceded the frigate, carrying servants, wearing apparel, &c.; a couple of shallops followed, to assist in the disembarkation; and about three o'clock in the afternoon of that day, his majesty and reduced train set foot on shore at Cotainville.[1]

[1] Il est certain qu'on disoit ouvertement, plus de quinze jours auparavant, que le Roi alloit partir dans un tel tems hors de cette île. On auroit pensé que le Roi, un peu avant sa sortie, auroit fait arrêter

Here he found a vast assemblage of French nobility and gentry waiting with horses and coaches to conduct him to Coutances; he was again received and magnificently entertained in the episcopal palace, where he slept that night, and in a day or two continued his journey.

Lord Hopton and several others of the court, who could not be accommodated on board the frigate, followed in another vessel the next day, and towards the end of the week, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal (*milord Quiper, Gardien du Grand Sçeau*); milady, wife of Sir Frederick Cornwallis, and some others went to St. Maloes to take passage from thence, and proceed by sea to Breda.

Another account of these proceedings, from the Clarendon manuscripts, not only serves the purpose of a *pièce justificative*, but affords further information, sufficiently interesting to warrant its insertion in this place.

"The Journal of the King's motions from Jersey to Paris (*sic*) with a few Articles of Intelligence, by Mr. Trethervy.

"13th Feb. Old Stile.[1] His Majestie with the most part of the Court left Jersey upon Wednesday about 9 in the forenoone, and havinge a very good passage in

les barques et bateaux de sortir de cette île par prévoyance qu'on ne sut point la nouvelle de son depart: cependant il n'en fit rien, remettant sa personne en la garde du Roi des Rois, du Seigneur et seul Protecteur et Gouverneur des Princes.

[1] It will be seen in the sequel that this letter was written from Beauvais; the date therefore should have been, New Stile, Feb. 23d, adopted at that time in France.

Capt Amye's vessell of 4 guns, attended by the Governour's shallop, landed safe at Coutainville that day about 4 in the afternoone, and went thence immediately to Coutance, where he lay that and the night following at the Bishopp's Pallace.

"Lord Hopton and Mr. Secretary Nicholas stayd in Jersey one night longer, and came not to Coutance till Friday morning 15 Feb. old stile, when his Majestie and whole traine left that Toune, and lay that night at St Lo; the night following at Caen, when the Lady Marq. of Ormond, having a desire to kisse the Queen's hands, his Majestie was pleased to take her and the Lady Isabella Thyn with him in his owne Coache; and the next morning passing from Caen, by reason of foule weather, and ill wayes, came in very late that night to Lisieux. The night following his Majestie lay at Bliosne, a little Burge where there was noe good accommodation; and the next night at Elbeufe within 4 leagues of Rouen, upon the river towards Pontl'arche where he was treated by the Duke D'Elbeufe. There hee mett letters from the Queene signifying her intention to be at Beauais to meete his Majestie, the Thursday following. Soe the next day early, passing over Ponturch he laye at Trippneuve 9 leagues short of this towne, and the next day, being Thursday 21 Feb. Old Stile, he arrived here at Beauais, where her Majestie with Lord Jermyn &c came likewise that evening, according to appointment.

"Lord Hopton, from Lisieux (where his Majestie was treated by the Bishop of that place) went directly upon some particular occasions to Rouen where he lay 2 nights, and so came not hither till a day after his Majestie.

"The Lord Keeper, being infirme by reason of

lamnes &c, and to save losse chose to passe by water to St. Malo, and soe from thence in a Dutch vessell for Holland; we left him with the Lady Cornwallis and divers others in Jersey expecting a fayre wind for theire voyage; many of the King's servants, and most of his goods were ordered for the same passage; they all arrived safe at St. Malo where a Dutch man-of warr received in the goods and some of the servants and promised to send his shallop for the Lord Keeper and the good company with him, as soone as the wind proved fayer. But contrary to promise, the wind being good, he immediately hoysed sayle, and went to sea, leaving his Lordship, the Lady, and others of quality behinde in the towne of St Malo, to expect an other oportunity, which may be very uncertaine.

"15 Martii New Stile. Tomorrow morning, the Queene returning to Paris, his Majestie intents to goe on to Breda, where wee are likely to be within 10 or 11 dayes. Wee have as yet no certainty out of Scotland whether wee shall find any Commissioners from there at Breda; much less what will be the issue of the treaty.

"We have reason to believe that Marques Montrose is allready with a considerable army in Scotland. (The Welch) Lieut Coll. Jones from Gettenberg writes that his Excellency went from thence the 10th of Jan., havinge the week before sent away 4 other shipps with men and ammunition for Scotland; now unles contrary wynds have putt him back againe, he must be in Scotland, or some of the Islands.

"The Lord of Ormond begins to recover a pace in Ireland, Crumwell is dangerously sick, if not dead, a great mortality amongst his men, and divers shipps with

supply of men and provisions from England have bin cast away by the late storms inasmuch as, Saint Peter[1] writes to his holy crew in England, that the hand of God is heavy upon them. Silley is very rich by reason of severall Prizes, good wracks, this winter which will the better enable the governor to increase the numbers and fortifications of that Garrison.

"One Coll Rawlyns is this day dispatched with letters to the Marquis of Ormond.[2] Mr. Elliott, at our coming from Jersey was sent express to Lisbone to Prince Rupert, from whom wee may expect good and speedy supplyes out of those many rich prizes, which at this time is extreamely necessary. The lady Marquis of Ormond is to returne for Caen tomorrow in the Duke of York's coach, which brought the lords of the Councell as farr as this towne, and is now returning back to Jersey. There hath not bin any sworne of the Councell since you left us, but only Sir Edward Nicholas, neither he nor the other yet sworne as secretary, though both of them have the exercize of that place; 'tis thought that Lord Hatton will be with us at Breda, and then, very probably, will be admitted of the Councell. Here hath bin a great concourse of people, among the rest Lord Goring, Lord Digby, Sir Richard Grenville, &c. But noe meeting of the Councell in all this time nor any considerable alteration that I can observe. The King (God preserve him) is in very good health, and I hope all will be well, any thing to the contrary notwithstanding. . .

"The Lo Jermyn hath surrendered his commission for the government of Jersey for 6000 Pistolls, and

[1] Hugh Peters.

[2] See Letter from the King to the Marquis of Ormond, p. 390.

Lord Percy his for Garnsey;[1] whereupon the Duke of Yorke (who remains still in Jersey) is made Governour of the first (Jersey), and superintendent of the rest of those islands, and Sir George Carterett his Lieutenant for all. The Duke hath likewise his commission for ———High Admirall."

Chevalier's chronicle terminates at this point. Other original materials relating to the earlier years of Charles's exile are exhausted, and, as we never presumed to encroach further on the province of the legitimate historian, our task is nearly completed. Before taking final leave of the King, however, it may not be irrelevant briefly to contrast his condition when he retreated to Jersey as Prince of Wales, under the somewhat strict guardianship of travelling tutors, dignified with the appellation of his Council, and his position on coming in 1649 to his island kingdom, the first, nevertheless, in which he can be said actually to have reigned.

In little more than three years marvellous changes had taken place, intrinsic as well as extrinsic. At the commencement, Charles was "kept in Jersey like a schoolboy;" at the termination of this short period he was, to a certain extent, a self-asserting man. In beings of less exalted station the metamorphosis from the chrysalis to a stage of higher development is rapid and remarkable; how much more rapid and remarkable the transmutation from the subject to the sovereign, the heir apparent to the monarch!

[1] A mere nominal affair, Guernsey being still parliamentarian; but the royalists now hoped to reduce it by the aid of the Marquis of Ormond, as we shall see shortly.

It must, furthermore, be remembered, that in the present instance circumstances had combined to produce precocious development of a morally unwholesome character. Early training in theoretical gallantry had been inculcated in the forcing-houses of Fontainebleau and Paris, under the auspices of a manœuvering inconsistent mother, aided by the *agaçeries* of a young, beautiful, accomplished, but vain, coquettish, calculating princess. The practical part of the education commenced at St. Germain's, under the evil precepts, and worse example, of a host of unprincipled, profligate courtiers of high and low degree, and under the same superintendence it was completed at the Hague.[1] So that when the pupil and companion of Buckingham, Wilmot and Percy came to Jersey in the autumn of 1649, he had long since taken his degree as a thorough man of the world, although little more than nineteen years of age.

Early in the spring of the same year the questionable honour of paternity devolved upon him;[2] and in August, the demure, not long married, John Evelyn, travelled in Lord Wilmot's coach from Paris to St. Germain's with the King's mistress. There is no evidence that any lady of Madam Barlow's complexion accompanied his majesty from France, or of his having formed a *liaison* with any such "brown, insipid beauty" in Jersey. Chevalier, at all events, is too discreet, too deeply imbued with the axiom that "Kings can do no wrong," to tell tales, even supposing he had tales to tell:

[1] That Charles in early life had manifested a leaning to the influence of loose companions, is to be inferred from Clarendon's relation of his intimacy with a youth at Barnstable, of the name of Wheeler, who was in consequence banished, not only from his presence, but from the town.

[2] James Crofts was born at Rotterdam, in April 1649.

there is no scandalous chronicle to supply information on this subject. Putting gallantry out of the question, the journalist's matter-of-fact records, nevertheless, contain certain unmistakeable traits, whereby Charles's other peculiarities may be clearly discerned.

The contrast between the young king's treatment on the Continent, and the loyal demonstrations with which he was greeted by his Jersey subjects, could not fail to be satisfactory and exhilarating; like Alexander Selkirk, he was "monarch of all he surveyed." The royal standard waved over the battlements of the impregnable fortress which protected his person, and served him as a commodious palace. Here he held his court; received the homage of his feudal vassals; presided over his council; issued his maiden proclamation "to all his subjects of the Kingdome of England, and Dominion of Wales," declaring that he thought fit rather to promulgate it from a small part of his dominions in which he is safe, and his kingly authority fully recognised, than from any foreign country where he has hitherto been necessitated to reside. "And since," he procceds, "it hath pleased God so to dispose, as by such an untimely martyrdome, to deprive Us of so good a Father, and England of so gracious a King,—We do further declare that by his death the Crown of England with all priviledges, rights and preheminences belonging thereto, is by a cleare and undoubted right of succession justly and lineally descended upon Us, as next and immediate Heyre and successor thereunto, without any condition or limitation; without any intermission of claim; without any ceremony or solemnity whatsoever; and that by vertue thereof We are now in right lawfully seized of the said Crown."

The loyal islanders, who had been among the first to proclaim him, would unhesitatingly have assisted at his coronation, but the indispensable functionaries and regalia being unattainable, they were obliged to rest satisfied with the consciousness that for five months Charles the Second reigned as King of Jersey. A kingdom somewhat Lilliputian in extent, it must be confessed, but not much smaller than many continental sovereignties. Much more secure and convenient under existing circumstances—possessing a government thoroughly organized and efficient; a revenue fully adequate to its support; crown rents and royal demesnes, yielding an annual income sufficient to maintain the garrisons of two strong fortresses; a standing army, as the militia may be considered, of not less than five thousand men; a self-supporting fleet; a zealous and most efficient military Governor, Vice-Admiral, Chief Justice, Chancellor of the Exchequer—all united in the loyal person of Sir George Carteret. In addition to these, an Established Church, sufficiently orthodox to have satisfied Sir Edward Hyde during his sojourn in the island.

The King, soon after his arrival, had an opportunity of exercising that prerogative which "becomes the throned monarch better than his crown," in pardoning a man condemned to death by the local court for having beaten his own father. In Jersey his majesty was first called upon to touch for the evil, which ceremony he performed on two occasions, a full account of which is given by Chevalier, differing but little from that contained in Evelyn's Diary, but more circumstantial and somewhat peculiar as regards the difficulty of obtaining genuine "angel money."

Shortly before his departure, Charles the Second,

according to proclamation, held a court in the great hall of Elizabeth Castle, at which were present, the Duke of York, the Lords of the Council, and the whole of the courtiers. On this occasion the local authorities and principal gentry kissed hands, and the holders of "*francs fiefsnobles*" did homage; among them were Amice de Carteret, Seigneur of Trinité; Sir Philip de Carteret, Seigneur of Saint Ouen's, and other lordships; and Sir George Carteret, Seigneur of Melêche, Belle Ozane, and Noirmont lately granted to him by his majesty, who also bestowed upon him, in consideration of his important services, "a certain island and adjacent islets near Virginia, in America, in perpetual inheritance." To these islands the name of New Jersey was given by patent under sign manual and royal seal, with permission to build towns, churches, and castles; to establish suitable laws; and also power to transport thither three hundred persons for the purpose of cleansing the land and cultivating it. The sole rent-charge upon this new colony was fixed at six pounds sterling yearly to the crown.[1]

In a day or two the States were convoked; when Sir George proposed that they should petition his majesty to confirm the islanders in those peculiar rights and privileges conferred on them by former sovereigns: especially in regard to the free importation of wool, leather and linen; and the exportation of knitted fabrics, the sole manufacture of the place. His excellency also represented to them that the tax voted for the service of his

[1] It would appear that little time was lost in sending out colonists: for about the middle of May, according to an entry in Whitelocke, (p. 440,) letters came to the House "from the Isle of Wight, that a ship of 5 guns, belonging to Sir George Carteret, Governour of Jersey, bound to Virginia, with many passengers, all sorts of goods, and tools for husbandry, for planting an island, which the Prince had given to Sir George, was taken by Captain Green, and brought in thither."

majesty, not having been collected in full, it was their duty to enforce payment in order to provide for the wants of the island and its defence: it being apprehended, from letters received, that the rebels meditated an attack upon it shortly. It was therefore the king's pleasure, he informed the States, that the castles should be garrisoned by at least three hundred men, fully provided with provision for a twelvemonth. He likewise stated that his majesty was pleased to promise that he would speedily send over from France a number of war-horses, for the purpose of mounting the *francs tenants*, to whom he had lately granted patents.

At that time Charles does not appear to have acceded to the petition of the States; but after the Restoration he cannot be accused of having been unmindful of his loyal island of Jersey, or resentful of the disloyalty of his island of Guernsey, which made the *amende honorable* by erasing the names of Oliver and Richard Cromwell from their records. He confirmed the charters granted to both islands by his predecessors, taking the inhabitants under his especial protection; and always interposed when any attempt was made to infringe their privileges.

In order to testify his grateful remembrance of the signal services he had received at the hands of the Jersey people, he caused a silver-gilt mace to be made and presented to the civil authorities in that island, "that by means of something durable and lasting, posterity might be apprized of our constant attachment, both to his blessed father and to him."[1]

[1] The following is the inscription on "this bauble:"—

Tali haud omnes dignatur honore.

Carolus secundus, Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Rex serenissimus, affectum Regium, ergà Insulam de Jersey (in quâ bis habuit

The last entry in Chevalier's journal is the following list "of those who remained with Prince James, Duke of York, in Jersey;" namely:—

Sir Questover Lewkner; Sir John Bartlett (Berkeley?); Mr. Nicolle, groom of the bedchamber; Mr. (Baptist) May, Keeper of his privy purse, and first gentleman of the chamber; Mr. (Hugh) May, his brother, gentleman usher; Mr. (Colonel?) Morley, groom of the chamber; Mr. — Morley, his brother, gentleman usher; Mr. (Henry) Bennet, secretary to the Duke; Mr. Romsey, yeoman of the wardrobe; Mr. Brand and Mr. Paul, butlers; Mr. Johnson, equery; Mr. Sneyder, tailor to the Duke. The Rev. Drs. Stewart, Byam, and Crander (?); six pages; six footmen; many grooms of the stables, and other inferior servants.

The title, "superintendent of the isles," was cautiously devised, all of them but Jersey being in the hands of the parliament. The project for making a descent upon Guernsey from Ireland was renewed; and the importance attached to gaining possession of this island is evident from the subjoined extracts from letters to the Marquis of Ormond:—

"Henry to the Marquis of Ormonde

"Beauvais, in our way to Breda.
"March 15th, 1650.

"His Majesty hath a most just sense of your services, and the daily difficulties you struggle with in that pursuance; and your further endeavours, by the proposition you lately made to him about the reduction of

receptum, dum cæteris ditionibus excluderetur) hocce monumento verè Regio posteris consecratum voluit. Jussitque ut deinceps Ballivus præferatur, in perpetuam memoriam fidei, tum Augustissimo parenti Carolo primo, tum suæ Majestati sævientibus Bellis Civilibus, servatæ a viris clarissimis Philippo et Georgio de Carteret, equitibus auratis, hujus insulæ Baliv. et Reg. Præfect.

Guernsey, which he conceives to be of that consequence in the posture that his affairs are in at present, that, next *London*, it is the place most to be desired, and he hath at that rate laboured to hire shipping for the transporting those men you promised: but his credit is not of that reputation to speed. If it be possible to supply his failing from Ireland, his Majesty will give the fines of all the delinquents in the island (Guernsey), which my information tells me did amount to 20,000*l.*[1] in Jersey. The commission that Lord Percy had is recalled, and his Majesty intends to keep it in his hands till he hear from you, whether it be possible for you to undertake it from thence. Sir E. Nicholas, whose business his Majesty commands me to tell you was done at your request, and to whom you gave me leave to impart this business to, has command from his Majesty to write to you at large, not only about the command of this place, but of all such ships and frigates as you shall bring with you, or shall come in to you, as absolutely as P. Rupert has from the D. of York, who remains still at Jersey.

"I had forgot in my letter to advertise you that the parliament had landed 500 men at Guernsey."[2]

"The King to the M. of Ormonde.

"Charles R.

"Right trusty and entirely beloved Cousin and Councellor we greet you well. Having thoroughly weighed the prudent propositions you sent us by Henry Seymour concerning the reducing of our Island of Guernsey, which at present stands out in rebellion against us; we do not only very well approve thereof, but in order

[1] More likely *livres tournois*, than pounds sterling.

[2] Carte's Collection, vol. i. p. 366.

thereunto have employed several persons to see if a competent proportion of shipping might have been hired for transporting from Ireland to Guernsey two thousand, or two thousand five hundred landmen; but find it altogether impossible for us in these parts to procure so much shipping. Wherefore that so advantageous and important a proposition as this you have made for reducing that Island may not come to nothing, we have thought good by these our letters, (expressly sent by this bearer) to desire you to use your best industry and endeavours to get (if it be possible) in Ireland a sufficient number of vessels for transporting of the said men into Guernsey: and we engage ourselves, that if, by your means and industry, our said Island shall be reduced, we will not only confer the government of the same upon you, but also all the confiscations and forfeitures of the inhabitants of that island towards reimbursement and satisfaction of your charge and hazard in reducing thereof. And whereas for your better effecting of that design, it will be necessary for the ships you send with the said forces to put into the road of Jersey; we shall presently give directions to our dearest brother the Duke of York; (who now resides at Jersey, and will continue there for some months) to cause all possible assistance to be given to the persons you shall entrust with the execution of that design. And we likewise send him a warrant and an order directed to the present Governor in Cornet Castle in our isle of Guernesey requiring him not only to give such as you shall employ in that service, his best assistance in that design, but to deliver into your hands the command and possession of that Castle, and to receive such forces as the commander you shall send with them shall direct, in order to the taking of the said island: not doubting but you will

vigorously pursue what you have so affectionately proposed, and which may be of so great importance for our service; which must now be put into execution with all secrecy and expedition, lest the shipping of the rebels of England should prevent you. And for the further encouragement of yourself and those who shall assist you in this important enterprize; We do hereby promise, that in case you shall reduce our said island of Guernesey (which will be a work of singular advantage to our service) we will take effectual order, that you shall have sufficient commission and powers from our dear brother the Duke of York, and to have under your particular Command all such ships frigats and vessels, as well Irish as others, as shall put themselves under you, or as you shall be able to draw thither unto you, with such liberty and privileges as are due to the Admiral of any squadron. We had acquainted this bearer Lieutenant Colonel Rawlins (whom we employed about this service) with several particulars to be by you considered of in the pursuance of this design, and desire you accordingly to give credit to him. Given at our Court at Beauvais, March 3-13 in the second year of our reign 1649-50."

The Duke of York remained in Jersey till the beginning of September, "and then (being so commanded by his majesty) he returned into France arriving at Paris on the 17th of the same month." [1]

Meanwhile numbers of free mariners flocked to Jersey, for the purpose of obtaining roving commissions from him and his vice-admiral. The depredations committed by them, by privateers from Scilly, and by others fitted

[1] Carte's Collection, vol. i. p. 371.

[2] Life of James II. vol. i. p. 48.—Rev. J. S. Clarke.

out in foreign ports: all going under the general denomination of "Jersey Pyrates;" so seriously interfered with the commerce of the new republic, as to provoke Cromwell, and induce him to reduce Jersey and Castle Cornet, which latter fortress still held out in the teeth of the Guernsey parliamentarians.

Almost immediately after the battle of Worcester, a formidable body of troops, under Major-General Haynes, embarked on board a fleet of eighty sail, commanded by the redoubtable Blake, and on the 20th of October, 1651, commenced an attack upon Jersey. On the 27th St. Aubin's Fort, and Mont Orgueil Castle, after a short but sharp resistance, surrendered, and Haynes, landing his troops, soon became master of the island. Elizabeth Castle, blockaded at sea and besieged by land, but defended by Sir George Carteret, held out for seven weeks, and then capitulated on most honourable and advantageous terms. A division of the enemy's fleet meanwhile proceeded to invest Castle Cornet; and gallant Sir Roger Burgess, who had formerly bearded Cromwell himself, was forced to surrender on the 15th of December: the very day on which Elizabeth Castle was evacuated. Scilly and the Isle of Man had previously yielded, the one in September, the other at the end of October or beginning of November; so that, as Mr. Tupper[1] satisfactorily proves, in opposition to the assertions of Clarendon and other dogmatical authorities, Castle Cornet was the last of the royal fortresses to lower the royal standard.

[1] History of Guernsey, in course of publication. See also Appendix to the Chronicles of Castle Cornet.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX I.

"M. Lemprière, Baily of Jersey, to the Speaker.

"I KNOW that in duty I was bound to give the parliament an account of the civil government in this island, but I presumed to defer it until this fittest opportunity by Colonel Stocall.

"I am confident it may dissipate those aspersions which some beyond the seas, not understanding our laws here, have already (as we are informed) endeavoured to cast upon this government, intending thereby to obtain the setting up of their own conceits.

"This little spot of ground (lately made happy by your islanders' submission to the parliaments' forces, who have delivered them out of bondage) is divided in twelve parishes; and every one of those subdivided into divisions, called vintaines; in each parish a constable; a centurion, which is as the constable's deputy; as many vinteniers as there are vintaines, who are subordinate officers to the constables, to execute those warrants which are sent them by him, who receives them first, either from the governor or baily. There are besides other officers called sermentes, or jurors, to make up the number of twelve with the vinteniers in each parish; these twelve, with the constable, make up a petty jury, to indict or free criminals, when first they present them in court. The Constable and these officers have power to search out and seize all malefactors

whatsoever, every one in his parish, and present them to the baily and justices, to receive condign punishment.

"Besides, there is a provost in every parish: as the name signifies 'warner,' so their office is to summon or warn any parties, who have suits in law, together, to appear before the baily and justices, who decide those differences. These summonses are in very short and pithy form, either written by the parties themselves, or any body else, provided that he that writes them must subscribe them: and the provost warneth the parties in many causes for nothing, in others for a penny. All these parochial officers are elected and chosen by the votes of all the parishioners, great and small, poor and rich; then presented to the bailey, who giveth them oath to exercise their several functions."[1]

After describing the Sigillum Insulæ de Jersey, Lemprière continues:—"Upon this discourse of the seal, I beseech your honour to permit me to digress something from my present narrative; which is, that I am now in possession of the said seal, sent from Brittany by Captain, alias Sir George Carteret, who was Keeper thereof by usurpation before our coming hither: what were his pretensions to carry it beyond seas, I leave to the parliament to censure. He hath likewise sent some of the court records; but I find more wanting, which he is to render, by the articles agreed on upon the surrender of Elizabeth Castle; and therefore it is conceived he hath forfeited the benefit which was granted unto him by them.

"The great court is kept very solemn at their Assizes, or opening of their Courts in the beginning of their terms, the governor being present to answer for those lordships that owe their comperance or appearing at the said assizes, whereof there is a good number. Likewise all the justices and officers of the court, with the provosts and other lords of manors, which hold *in capite*, and other frank-tenants, which are duly called according to their ranks, and fines set upon those which do not appear; and if they failed four times together, their lands were put in the king's possession. They keep three sorts of courts, though with the same judges; viz. the Court of Heritage, the Court of Cattel, and the Court of Remedies, or the Court Extraordinary.

"In the first court is treated of inheritance; as partitions of lands between co-heirs, and, in fine, of all differences which do arise

[1] The constitution of the court is inserted at page 3 of the text.

for lands, or rents that are for ever. The benefit of retrieving of inheritance sold, is granted to the first of the kindred that doth claim it within a year. In the second, called the Court of Cattel; first, of all criminal causes, which are determined definitively without appeal, (except those of high treason, the cognisance of which the King reserved to himself,) but are judged with the greatest discretion and favour that can be imagined; for, first, a malefactor being brought before the judges by the constable and his sermentez, which make the petty jury (before mentioned), if they have found the malefactor seized of any goods, or vehement suspicions (after examination of witnesses in their presence, they having freedom to secure any of them upon evidence of hatred or malice) either of theft, murder, or witchcraft, then their verdict is, that they think, in their consciences, they are guilty of the fact, (which is called indictment;) whereupon the parties so indicted are demanded, whether they will be tried by the bench or the country? by this bench is meant, the baily and twelve justices, whereof there must be seven of them, at least, of one opinion, to condemn a man; by the country is understood, an assembly of twenty-four of the accused's own parish and neighbouring parishes, of sufficient able men, full of integrity; of these there must be twenty of an unanimous voice to make the party guilty; and this is the great inquest. In the second place, in the same court called Cattel, is treated of duress for the most part; (which is) that in case a man be overburdened with debts, and that his estate is not able to pay them, as soon as he is imprisoned for any of them, he is free of all his creditors, if he comes to court and affirms upon oath that he hath not wherewithal to satisfy them, and leaves what inheritance he hath to struggle amongst them who shall enjoy it: which is done very regularly; those which have purchased or lent their money the last are the losers; every man enjoys according to the priority of his purchase, &c.

"In the Court called Extraordinary, is treated of causes more trivial, which concern only moveables, &c.

"Of the Court of Heritage, the last part of the Court of Cattel and Extraordinary, appeals might be made to the King and Council for moveables, not for under the value of £20 sterling. Appeals might be made immediately after sentence given, yet *sedente Curia*, and two sufficient sureties given within a sennight

for the prosecution of them, within the time limited; which is, the said appeals must be entered in the book of Council causes within three months, and be presented within one year; and in case the appelant do not reverse the sentence, and proves an order from the Council of *mal jugé ben appellé*, then he forfeits twenty crowns to the bailey.

"There are likewise many inferior courts held in the island by senechals or stewards, called basse courts; which is to say, low courts, in respect of the great and superior courts. Many of these lordships do now belong to the Commonwealth of England, others to some gentlemen of the island. Of these stewards' courts, appeals may be made to the baily's court.

"Upon some extraordinary and important occasions, which might conduce for the good of the inhabitants, an assembly of the States was called by the governor or baily. This assembly consisted of the said governor or his lieutenant, the baily or his lieutenant, the twelve jurats, the twelve constables (who represented the Commons of the Country), and sometimes the twelve ministers, who, by their turbulency and brouilleries, have made themselves unworthy of that assembly; and therefore may be fitly desired they might be left out with the bishops, I never intending to call them at that assembly unless I am commanded.

"Amongst the many good and wholesome local customs, municipal laws and others, whereof many are agreeing with the Mosaical, one is very remarkable, (in behalf of the oppressed,) viz. Le Clam de Haro: which is, that if any man, of what degree or quality soever, pretends to be injured or oppressed, either by the greatest or the lowest of the isle, at the acclamation three times of Haro, with a loud voice, (be it right or wrong) the other party must surcease, though he were upon never such urgent occasions, whether he were at cart or plough, felling or lopping trees, in a word, upon any occasions; and he that is in fault, of the accuser or accused, is fined ten livres tournois; and if the accuser persists notwithstanding in his work or violence, he is also fined in the like sum for persisting: and likewise, if any man is within hearing of this call, and doth not come to the assistance of the oppressed, he is put to an arbitrary fine; and this is tried at the Court of Cattel (before mentioned) amongst crimes.

"This being but a short epitome of our civil government, I refer

the enlarging of this summary to this gentleman Colonel Stocall; who voluntarily ventured himself with the first at the landing in this isle, and hath been very serviceable in assisting the parliament's forces. I cannot but also recommend to your honours his abilities and good endowments; and most particularly for the twelve learned speeches he made to the twelve parishes, when the inhabitants of them took and subscribed the engagement, where he shewed most ingeniously the great difference of the late and the present Government, to the great applause of the islanders, with acclamations of joy and alacrity; and therefore do most humbly beseech your honour, that he may have some good encouragements for his return to this place. He is also able, with Dr. Lemprière, (who hath been very painful, and is still as careful for the good of this poor island, and is perfectly well acquainted with the government of the Country and integrity of the people) to describe and recommend unto parliament some able persons, who are fit in this island to serve really and truly the commonwealth: the number of them is not great, but it is very requisite to have such.

"They may likewise inform your honour, how I have caused to be elected in each parish a constable, centurion, vinteniers, and sermentez (before described,) who, for the most part, have suffered for the commonwealth, either by exile, fines, imprisonment, or otherwise, and sworn them in their offices. I would have proceeded to the election of jurats in the places of those who have by their foul & enormous offences of extortions, pillages, and adhearances to Captain, alias Sir George Carteret, in all his tyrannies and plunders upon the poor inhabitants of this isle, disabled themselves ever to bear any office in this place, had not the honourable Colonel Heane (Haines) shewed me a letter from the Council of State desiring a supersedeas till further order.

"The said Colonel Heane, at our first coming in the isle, did put the militia thereof at the disposing of Colonel Stocall, Captain Norman, and myself; where we laboured to place able Captains and other officers, not malignants, and who have suffered for the state.

"This much I presume to particularize unto your honour, most humbly begging that you will be graciously pleased to favour this poor plot of earth so far, that they may re-enjoy their ancient liberties and privileges in their jurisdictions, and all tyranny and oppression taken away, (all which my small endeavours I nevertheless

refer wholly to the parliament's great wisdom and censure,) and they shall ever pray for the augmentation and exaltation of the Commonwealth of England. It shall be most particularly the prayer of

" Your honour's most humble, most faithful,
" and most obliged servant,
" M. Lemprière, Baily de Jersey.

" Jersey, Feb. 2, 1651(2)."[1]

APPENDIX II.

Mr. Francis Godolphin, leaving the Prince in Jersey, returned to Scilly, embarked on board Amy's frigate, to sell tin, &c., at Morlaix; and writes the two following letters to Sir Edward Hyde.[2]

" Right Honorable,

" It is almost as great an affliction to me, as my loss, to be driven soe often and soe iluckily to vex your Honor with my complaints, which yet indeed are at this time soe very just and necessary, as inless by your favour, I receave amends, I shall look upon myselfe as more a wretch, then if I had fallen into the hands of ennemies thorough Capt Ames inkind and hard usage, to whom my man payd ten pound at Silly in money, and offered him at landing the tyn, thirty, or forty pound more, and having sold the tyn to Mr. Sweet, a frend of Mr. Potters, and receaved forty pounds in earnest, he was inforced to pay back the mony, Capt Ame refusing to deliver the tyn, though my man at last for quietness offered to lett him have a 150 pistolls for the use of the sheip, which was the one halfe of the value of the tyn, and by his advice sent to Nants (where it is thought Ame is gone, if not to Jersey) to a frend of his, to disburse 200 pistolls upon the tyn for the Princes service, and if it will not soe be had to stay the ship, till it be delivered; I must flye in this my greatest extremitie to your Honors favour and assistance for my releefe, and make bold to remember you of your promise to me at Sillie when you desired

[1] Cary's Memorials from the Tanner Collection of MSS.
[2] Clarendon MSS.

my helpe to putt him to sea, his Highness express order to restore my tyn, will be of noe use, unless a bill of credit be sent him, upon which he may take up, as much as it comes too, he pretends he is insatisfied for carrying the wheat to Sillie, he also threatned to open my trunks, (in which truly were nothing but books, my cloths and my wive's and some linnen) to seeke for mony, I confess I wonder very much, considering there never was any thing ever like inkindness between us, why he should doe this, I humbly beseech your honor to returne this bearer furnished with such expedients as may either procure the release of my tyn, or else my mony for it and lett not Bullen have any thinge to doe about it, for he proves as inkinde to me, as the other, he shall having your dispatch hasten to Nants, his riding up and down about this already hast cost me almost 20^{lb}. and robbed unless you redress both of subsistence, and contentment,

" Your honors most affectionate
" and humble servant
" Fra. Godolphin."

" Cane 11th June 1646."

" My change of ayre, has not yet given me the advantage I proposed, of once hearing from my wife."

" To the Right Honourable Sir Edw. Hyde Chancellor of the Exchequer present this

" Jersey"

" Right Honourable

" I humbly thank you for the favour of your cordiall letter, and truly I needed it, for though I repose my selfe upon your honor, that you will cure me of this disease, yet whilst your physick was a preparing, I might else, have fainted in this pressure of evils, whilst to my owne indoing by my freinds abroad, is added the knowledge of my wive's suffering at home, which upon this occasion I aske your pardon for presuming to offer you in her owne words: upon the promises of the committee at first, I did hope their dealing would have been as gentle as I had reason to expect considering my case, but it seems they have repented their charitable intentions, and now I am to expect the contrary the prasement of your goods here comes to 330^{lbs}. which they absolutely require to be

payd in 3 weeks, which truly if it were to save my life by doing I think verily is not in my power, neither am I satisfied considering the fickleness of our condition that it were fitt for me to doe, if I could, therefore in the minde I am now, I doe resolve to lett them take all, and depend upon God Almightye's providence wholy for our subsistence, and I beseech him that we may never contrive by any unworthy or injust way to continue ourselves in a better condition then he thinks fitt for us, I have also made bold to send your honor, a part of another letter from her to lett you see, that I was strictly obliged in honesty to pay eighty pound sterling out of this tyn mony to two worthy gent at Mourlis, from whom I receaved it in Engl. to be repayed there.

" I have taken a very inseasonable time to trouble you, when you are to intertain soe great company and business, but not knowing their hart, and reflecting upon my owne sad condition, I conceave, it may be proper, whilst you are all together, to consider of a settlement for Sillie, and to estimate the charge, it must be to you if you expect that it be kept, and to design a certainty of mony to it and out of that 330$^{lb.}$ sterling to me in lieu of what is equivalent to 300$^{lb.}$ there at least upon the credit of your Honors

" most affectionate humble servant
" Fra^{s} Godolphin.

" Caen 23 June 1646

" The Commander ought to have a credit equall to his annuall allowance, to inable him to manage, and make his owne provisions, and two barques for that purpose.

" To the right Honorable
Sir Edward Hyde Chancellor
of the Exchequer
present this
Jersey."

APPENDIX III.

A LIST *of the* OFFICERS *and* SOULDIERS *belonging to* PENDENNIS CASTLE *at the Surrender thereof.*

Collonells.

John Arundel, Governor.
Generall Digby.
Major Gen. Harris.
Sir Abraham Shipman.
Richard Arundel.
Henry Shelley.
Walter Slingsby.
Mathew Wise.
William Slaughter.
Charles Jennens.
Lewis Tremaine.

Lieutenant Collonels.

Dolly Dyer.
Anthony Brocket.
—— Porter.
Ralph Coningsby.
Grils Hicks.
Coswarth.

Majors.

Mills.
Rustat.
Munday.
Mugent.
Fitzaldelme.

Brittayne.
Polewheele, of Horse.

Captains.

Bishop.
Rockcliffe.
Shelley.
Tresaer.
Mackland.
Arundell.
Freeman.
Morgan.
Joyne.
Parry.
Blake.
Howel.
Cannon.
Gill.

Reformad. Capt.

Corney.
Bligh.
Bedlake.
Burleigh.
Lewis.

Captains.

Spurway.
Whithead.
Kellio.
Dinham.
Courtney.
Thurlow.

Captains.

Cottel.
Taverner.
Spry.
Pomerey.
Richardson.

Lieutenants.

Williams.
South.
Favors.
Courtis.
Shelley.
Shepton.
Carey.
Malvin.
Johnson.
Plunket.
Grimes.
Kimrow.
Morgan.
Lower.
Eviley.
James.
Stevens.
Sherbrough.
Rous.
Tramayne.
Holder.
Hallimore.
Lobb.

Lieutenants.

Vosper.
Winston.
Gullet.
Richards.
Tresaer.
Arundel.

Ensignes.

Callum.
Shelley.
Stevens.
Greene.
Mayners.
Slowman.
Randal.

Ensignes.

Hailes.
Weekes.
Gaith.
Tippet.
Waddon.
Smith.
Powell.
Landry.
Tresaer.
Wright.

Quarter-Masters.

Dalton.
Oath.
May.

Of Common Souldiers, 732.

Of all these there is upward of three hundred.

Gentlemen that had Command in the Castle.

Sir Sam. Cosworth, Knight.
Sir John Grils, Knight.
Walter Langden.
Nevill Bligh, Esq.
Mr. George Spry.
Mr. Thomas Moulton.
M. Abraham Biggs.

Gentlemen.
Of the Councell of Warre.

Sir Henry Killigrew.
Joseph Jane, Esq.
Nath. Lugar, *Clerke of the Councell of Warre.*

Of the Train of Artillerie.

Lieutenant Generall Burleigh.
John Burleigh, Controller.
Richard Hippisley, Commissary of the Magazin.
Robert Hewet, his assistant.
Thomas Penraddock, Quartermaster.
William Adamson, Marshall of the Garrison.
John Matthewes.
Ambrose Pile, Conductors.

Gunners.

Edw: Nichols, Master Gunner.

Gunners.

Richard Pain.
William Pain.
Tho. King.
Christopher Warden.
Sampson Penleath.
John Leatherby.
Laurence Welcot.
Th. Standard.
William Pow.
Nath. Cliver.
Rich. Kent.
John Rounsewall.
Richard Williams.
William Williams.
Jacob Awson.
Powel Johnson.
Power Johnson.
Christopher Gowin.
Ralph Jackson.
Edward Stevens.
Henry Geake.
Robert Rawlins.
Richard Inch.
John James.
Math. Bell, Waggon-Masters Man.

Chaplains.

M. Bagley.
Lionel Gatford.
Mr. Lewcy.
Mr. Nicholson.
Mr. Emmist.

Chyrurgeons.

Mr. Head.
M. Penwarden.
Mr. Gerish.

APPENDIX IV.

Proclamation du Roi Charles II.

Comme ainsi soit que les rebelles ont, par un attentat horrible, jetés leurs mains violentes sur la personne du Roi Charles Premier, de glorieuse mémoire, par la mort duquel les souveraines couronnes des Royaumes d'Angleterre, Ecosse, France et Irlande appartiennent et succédent entièrement et légitimement à son Altesse, le Très-Haut et Tres Puissant Prince Charles : A ces causes nous, Le Lieutenant Gouverneur et Bailly, et Jurés de l'ile de Jersey, assistés des officiers du Roi, et des principaux d'ycelle île, tous d'un cœur et d'une voix publions et proclamons que Son Altesse le Très-Haut et Tres-Puissant Prince Charles est maintenant, par la mort de notre dit feu Souverain de glorieuse mémoire, devenu, par droit de légitime sucession, et ligne héréditaire, notre seul et légitime Souverain Seigneur, Charles Second, par le grâce de Dieu, Roi d'Angleterre, Ecosse, France et Irlande ; Defenseur de la Foi, &c. Auquel nous reconnoissons dévoir toute obéissance et fidélité, honneur et service, et prions Dieu, par lequel les Rois règnent, d'etablir et d'affermer le Roi Charles Second, dans tous ses justes droits, et sur son trône, et le faire règner long-tems et heureusement sur nous. Ainsi soit il. Vive le Roi Charles Second.

1649, le 17e de Fevrier.

" Signé en l'original par :—Messire George de Carteret, Chevalier Baronet, Lieutenant Governeur et Bailly ; Messire Ph. De Carteret, Chevalier, Seigneur de St. Ouen ; Amice de Carteret, Ecuyer, Seigneur de la Trinité ; François de Carteret, Josué de Carteret, Elie Dumaresq, Ph. Le Geyt, Jean Pipon, Pierre Fautrart, Josué Palot, Helier de Carteret, procureur du Roi ; Laurens Hamptonne, Vicomte ; Jean Le Hardy, avocat du Roi ; Philipe Dumaresq Edoa. Romeril, Jean Seale, Jacques Guillaume, Nicholas Richardson, Nicholas Journeaulx, Isaac Herault, Jean Le Couteur, Abraham Bigg, Helier Hue, Greffier.

APPENDIX V.

'To our trusty and well-beloved the Bailly and Estates of our Isle of Jersey.

"Charles P.

"Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. We have so great a sense of the loyalty and affection of that our island of Jersey, and retain in our Princely memory those particular expressions of their affections to our person, at the time of our being with you, that we are very solicitous to promote any thing that we conceive may prove for the benefit and security of that important place, which we have heretofore, to our singular contentment, made the place of our residence, and where we may again, for our conveniency choose for some time to stay. We do therefore earnestly recommend to you the building, and erecting of a Pier at Saint Aubins, which would prove of great benefit and advantage to the trade of the island, which we shall endeavour to promote and advance by any favours and graces we can confer on you. And, for the better encouragement of you in this good work, (towards which we do heartily authorise you to make any such collections, or to do such other acts as in your discretions you think necessary) we will ourself allow five hundred pistoles. And we do assure you, that we intend, as soon as God shall enable us, to fix some signal mark of our favour upon that island, as a reward of the constant loyalty to our late dear father, and to us. And so we bid you heartily farewell. Given under our sign manual this fifth day of March, in the first year of our Reign."

"To our trusty and well-beloved the Bailly and Estates of our island of Jersey.

"Charles R.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas there was heretofore, in the reign of our late dear father, of ever blessed memory, with and upon the consent of the Bailly and states of that our island of Jersey, a petition passed for one *sous* upon the pot[1] of wine, to be employed to the several uses mentioned in the said grant, which patent passed the signet and privy seal, and had the receipt to it at the great seal. But by reason of the late troubles and dis-

[1] Half a gallon.

tractions in England the same passed not the great seal. Our will and pleasure therefore is, and we do hereby require and authorise you, since we are well assured that the execution of the said grant and patent will redound much to the advantage, and benefit of that our island; that you forthwith cause the same to be put in execution, in as full and absolute a manner as if it were passed our great seal of England; and that the money raised thereupon be collected in that manner, issued to the ends and purposes mentioned in the said grant. And we do promise to pass or confirm the same under our great seal, as soon as the same can conveniently be done. And in the mean time this shall be your warrant. Given under our signet this fifth day of March, in the first year of our reign."

There is yet another despatch from the King to the States of Jersey in the month of April. Chevalier takes no notice of it, but it is too characteristic to be rejected.

"Trusty and well-beloved We greet you well. When we consider the eminent affection of that our island of Jersey, so often and so notoriously expressed to us; and consequently that the malice of those inhuman rebels will be greatly enraged against them, we are not more troubled at the straits and necessities we are in with reference to any particular than that. We are not able to send such an assistance and supply thither, as the importance of the place, and the season of the year would require us to do; yet, the experience we have had of your affection in general, and the particular knowledge we have of many of you, gives us comfort and assurance that you will not now fail us, and yourselves, when by the goodness of God we have reason to believe our affairs to be past the worst, and in a growing condition.

"We do therefore very earnestly recommend you, that by your seasonable care and provision, the dangers which may threaten you this summer, may be prevented, or provided for, and that you will assist our Lieutenant Governor there, (who you well know has exhausted his own estate in our service) with the loan of such moneys, or in such other way as you shall think fit; as may both supply the magazines, and further strengthen him in such manner, as the rebels may have no encouragement to attempt you. And, whatsoever you shall upon this occasion disburse, we do promise you on the word of a king to repay it to you; and, that you may not

believe that the aid you shall now give us, upon this extraordinary occasion, shall be drawn into example to your prejudice, we do assure you that we hope after this summer to make so good a provision for that our island, that the care thereof shall be no further burthensome to you; and, that as soon as we arrive in Ireland, we will consult how that kingdom may be best applied to the benefit of and advantage of Jersey; and from thence, we doubt not as soon as we have composed the differences there, to be able to give you from time to time, to send a proper supply to that our island.

"And we wish and advise you to consider how a trade with our kingdom may be so settled from and to Jersey, as may be of most benefit to you. And, upon any proposition you shall make to us in that particular, you shall find us very willing and ready to gratify you. We expect a speedy account of this our letter, and what you have done thereupon; that we may know, as well the state you are in, as to what particular persons we are most engaged for their assistance in this exigence. We shall add no more, but that we do not forget the money which we borrowed at our being there, which we will not fail to repay with our thanks as soon as we are able. And so we give you heartily farewell.[1]

[1] Clarendon MSS.

THE END.

R. CLAY, PRINTER, BREAD STREET HILL.

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